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TREATMENT OF JEWS BY THE SOVIET

Pt. 5

SEVENTH INTERIM REPORT
OF
HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
UNDER AUTHORITY OF
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EXHIBITS

The exhibits referred to in the testimony are identified as follows, and may be found in the committee's files. They are a permanent part of the committee's record.

All New York Exhibits

No. 1..... A pamphlet, Primer on Communism, a Fact-by-Fact Exposé, prepared by Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

No. 2..... Statistical statement on anti-Semitism in Rumania and the destruction of the Rumanian Jewish community.

No. 3..... A pamphlet, Communist Anti-Semitism, report of an investigation by the Jewish Labor Committee.

No. 4..... A petition, entitled "An Appeal to the Conscience of Mankind," presented to the United Nations by the Jewish Labor Committee, March 21, 1951.

No. 5..... A pamphlet, Soviet Russia and the Jews, by Gregor Aronson, 1949, published by American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc.

No. 6..... Periodical, Jews Against Communism, vol. VI, No. 2, autumn 1953, published by American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc.

No. 7..... Periodical, Jews Against Communism, vol. VII, No. 1, spring 1954, published by American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc.

No. 8..... Pamphlet, Rumanian Jewry in the Postwar Period, published by Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress.

No. 9..... Pamphlet, The Jews of Hungary, Survey of Their History and Postwar Situation, published by Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress.

No. 10..... Pamphlet, The Jewish Situation in the Soviet Sphere, published by Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress.

No. 11..... Pamphlet, The Persecution of Jews in Rumania, a report by the World Jewish Congress, June 1954, published by American Jewish Congress.

No. 12..... Book, Survey of Events in Jewish Life in 1953, published 1954 by Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress.

No. 13..... Pamphlet, The Soviet Attitude Toward Territorial Minorities and the Jews, by Anatole Goldstein, published by Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress.

No. 14..... Pamphlet, The Prague Trial, by Anatole Goldstein, published by Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress.

No. 15..... Pamphlet, The Anti-Semitic Nature of the Czechoslovak Trial (November–December 1952), published by Library of Jewish Information, American Jewish Committee.

No. 16..... Pamphlet, Jews Under Soviet Rule, reprinted from American Jewish Year Book, 1952.

No. 17..... Pamphlet, Under the Soviet Heel, Destruction of Jewish Life in Eastern Europe, by Peter Meyer, published by American Jewish Committee.

No. 18..... Pamphlet, Anti-Semitism Continues in Soviet Satellites, published by American Jewish Committee, February 1954.

No. 19..... A study, The New Red Anti-Semitism, a symposium edited by Elliot E. Cohen, published by the Beacon Press, Boston.

No. 20..... Book, The Jews in the Soviet Satellites, by Peter Meyer et al., published by Syracuse University Press.

PREFACE

This is the seventh interim report of the Committee on Communist Aggression, embodying hearings of a subcommittee on Communist aggression against the Jewish peoples in the Soviet Union and in the Soviet satellite states of Eastern and Central Europe.

This report consists of testimony taken at hearings in New York City on September 22 and 23 by a subcommittee of which the chairman was the Honorable Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, and which was comprised of the Honorables Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, of Michigan; Edward J. Bonin, of Pennsylvania; Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut; and Michael A. Feighan, of Ohio.

At the hearings of the subcommittee there appeared witnesses who had been leaders of the Jewish communities in the subjugated nations of Eastern and Central Europe, as well as more humble citizens of the Jewish faith of those unfortunate countries. Also, there appeared the leading spokesmen and officials of most of the national organizations of Americans of the Jewish faith, who made available to the committee their researches and other special collections of information and knowledge on the subject.

The committee wishes to acknowledge the generous and valuable assistance rendered by the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the Jewish War Veterans of the United States.

COMMUNISM AND THE JEWS

The testimonies at the hearings developed significant facts concerning the resistance of the Jewish peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe against communism from the time the Bolsheviks first seized power in Russia.

An expert witness, Dr. Solomon M. Schwarz, author of the authoritative work, The Jews in the Soviet Union, was on the witness stand. He was asked: "Doctor, were the Jews well represented in the Communist Party at the time of the Bolshevik revolution?" Dr. Schwarz testified:

> At that time there were some Jews among the leading Bolsheviks; Jews who were completely Russified and without any intimate ties with Russian Jewry. But the Bolshevik Party had no contact at all either with the Jewish masses or with the Jewish intelligentsia. When, at the beginning of 1918, the party decided to publish some Bolshevik pamphlets in Yiddish it was impossible to find a translator. One of the leading Jewish Bolsheviks a few years later wrote in a semi-official history of those developments: "We were forced to look for Jewish writers willing to do the job (of translating)—and for a substantial fee. But no financial inducements succeeded in producing a Jewish writer willing to translate Bolshevik literature."

Several witnesses raised the question of the relationship between Jewish Communists and the Jewish people and Jewish communities

of Eastern Europe. Two witnesses, notably, provided an answer to the question. One was a physician, Dr. Zoltan Klar, who was one of the prominent leaders of the Jewish community in Budapest. The other was Dr. Frederic Gorog, who was president of the Hungarian branch of the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Dr. Klar was testifying about the aftermath of a Communist pogrom against the Jews in the town of Kunmadaras, about 150 miles from Budapest; and the efforts of the Communists to shift the blame from themselves to Catholic Cardinal Mindszenty for the instigation of the crime. In protest against this infamous libel, Dr. Klar related, the board of directors of the Jewish Social Federation of Hungary instructed a delegation, headed by Chief Rabbi Francis Hevesi, and Dr. Klar to call on Chief Editor Revai, of the official Communist newspaper Szabad Nep, himself of Jewish birth, and to appeal for his help and influence in putting a stop to these evil incitations. And Dr. Klar testifies to a revealing reply from a "Jewish Bolshevik."

Said Dr. Klar:

Revai's reply to the arguments of the chief rabbi, who appealed to him as a fellow Jew, was that he was not a Jew but a Communist.

Similarly, Dr. Gorog was testifying about Hungarian Communist arrests and murders of refugee Rumanian Jews escaping through Hungarian territory.

Said Dr. Gorog:

The American Joint Distribution Committee—I, myself—made very strong representations to the Hungarian authorities. * * * I went to the Jewish leader of the Communist Party. * * * It was Michael Farkas, who is today, I think, Minister of Defense; but he was the No. 2 man in the Communist Party, after Matyas Rakosi, at that time. I have every reason to believe that his attitude was in accordance with that of the others. I appealed to him as a Jew, and he told me very bluntly, "We here are not Jews; we are Communists."

The committee understood the replies of the two "Jewish Bolsheviks," cited above, as expressing the attitude of turncoats and apostates of the Jewish faith and the Jewish people. In this respect, it was noted, the examples are a parallel to the experience of other faiths and peoples with apostates and turncoats who have forsaken their own people to embrace the diabolical faith.

There was extensive testimony by a number of witnesses on the subject of antisemitism under communism. The expert witness referred to above, Dr. Schwarz, stated there had been a diminution of antisemitism under communism between 1917 and the middle twenties as a consequence of the civil war in Russia in those years and the Bolshevik wars of conquest against the non-Russian nations now incorporated within the Soviet Union. And Dr. Schwarz was asked:

Was anti-Semitism, as a result, wiped out in the Soviet Union?"

Dr. Schwarz replied:

Anti-Semitism actually almost disappeared in the first years after the end of the civil war. But it reappeared once more in the second half of the twenties, not as a "heritage of the past" but as a new phenomenon of purely Soviet origin.

What was this "new phenomenon," this anti-Semitism of "purely Soviet origin?"

The committee heard an eloquent answer to this question from an eyewitness—Mr. Herschel Weinrauch, a prominent Jewish author of

several books published in the Soviet Union, and a former editor of the Jewish newspaper published in Biro-Bidjan, an area on the far eastern border of the Soviet Union between Siberia and Manchuria which the Soviet Union in 1928 purportedly established as an autonomous Jewish territory. This is how Mr. Weinrauch explained the new anti-Semitism of the Communists:

> The anti-Semitism of the Communist Party is a new anti-Semitism. They didn't kill the bodies of the people, they killed the soul of the people, they killed the minds of the people: they killed the Jewish language, the Jewish history, the Jewish traditions; everything distinctively Jewish they killed. So this is more important, maybe, than when they killed the body.

But if the anti-Semitism of the Communists began as a "new phenomenon of purely Soviet origin" in the latter twenties, aimed principally at killing the soul of the people, it did not long refrain from embracing the older czarist methods of physical extermination.

Mr. Weinrauch himself tells of the change in Communist policy after 1935, when the Communists embraced the full heritage of czarist anti-Semitism. In the pages which follow herein can be read his testimony concerning the physical extermination of thousands of Jews in Biro-Bidjan in the late thirties, and of Communist pogroms in the Soviet Union toward the end of the war in the middle forties.

Also, there will be found the testimony of other witnesses—from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania—concerning Communist pogroms and mass deportations of Jews just fresh out of the Nazi concentration camps, in the postwar years when the Communists seized control of these unhappy countries.

Communist anti-Semitism, in fact, was the immediate cause of a notable event in the history of the peoples subjugated by the Communist police state.

Dr. Klar, the witness previously mentioned, testified, and he was corroborated in this by others, about the mass demonstrations of 20,000 persons organized by Chief Rabbi Francis Hevesi, of Hungary, and by himself as a huge demonstration against the Communist leaders and instigators of pogroms against the Jews of Hungary in May 1946.

So far as the committee is aware, this bold and courageous show of resistance and open fight against the Communists is among the earliest mass demonstrations of a subjugated people flung as a defiance in the teeth of their Communist rulers.

It would seem from this that the Jewish peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were aware of the inimical purposes of communism and had identified their enemy.

Indeed, the conclusion to which one is driven by the great mass of evidence presented to this committee is that the official and deliberate policy of communism was aimed directly at forced assimilation of the Jews as the preferred technique for exterminating the Jews as a people.

The end result sought by the Communists stands revealed by the evidence, therefore, as being no different from the end result sought by the Nazis.

It will be seen from their testimonies that these witnesses have made contributions of the greatest value in the fight against communism and for the freedom of all peoples.

TREATMENT OF JEWS BY THE SOVIET

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION OF THE BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in room 2804, Federal Building, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. Charles J. Kersten (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Charles J. Kersten, Edward J. Bonin, Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, Michael A. Feighan, and Thomas J. Dodd.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. MCTIGUE. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Irving M. Engel, who is president of the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. KERSTEN. The hearings will come to order.

This is the commencement of a session here in New York City of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Communist Aggression.

Today and tomorrow the subcommittee will hold hearings exposing and showing the persecution of the Jewish people by Communist regimes, the persecution of Jewish people behind the Iron Curtain.

The Committee on Communist Aggression has heard testimony from escapees from behind the Iron Curtain from the several Communist-dominated countries and the picture is becoming more clear as the facts accumulate as to the ruthless persecution by Communist governments of all religions, cultures, and civilizations.

We are very glad to have before us this morning the representatives of the great American Jewish organizations and other witnesses, some of them escapees from Iron Curtain countries.

We are honored to have as our first witness, Mr. Irving M. Engel, national president of the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. Engel, will you stand and raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ENGEL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING M. ENGEL, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mr. KERSTEN. As time goes on, one of the things that is becoming more and more apparent in Communist activities and practices is the persecution of peoples who adhere to principles of religion and morality; particularly with regard to such basic things as the Ten Com-

mandments that are common to Judaism and Christianity. As a matter of fact, the very inverse of the Mosaic Law of the Decalogue, the Ten Commandments, seems to be the principle of Communist actions.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Engel, I believe you have a statement prepared which you would like to present.

Mr. ENGEL. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Engel be permitted to read his statement?

Mr. KERSTEN. We invite you to read your statement.

Mr. ENGEL. First, let me say I am heartily in accord with your statement as to the incompatibility that must exist between communism and the principles of Judaism, the principles of the Judeo-Christian civilization upon which our system is based. They are absolutely incompatible with one another.

As has been stated, I am president of the American Jewish Committee. That organization was founded in 1906—and I quote:

> to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world, * * * to secure for Jews equality of economic, social, and educational opportunity.

The committee has chapters in 44 principal American cities and more than 20,000 members in more than 550 American communities.

Our committee has been in the forefront of the fight against nazism and fascism; it is actively participating in the struggle against communism, and other brands of totalitarian dictatorship.

For a long time the American Jewish Committee has been deeply concerned with the fate of the Jews caught behind the Iron Curtain, both in the Soviet Union proper, and in the countries the Soviet Union has either annexed or transformed into puppet states through ruthless imperialist aggression. Under the impact of these developments the American Jewish Committee set up extensive research projects to study the effect of Soviet aggression and tyranny upon the life of Jewish communities under Communist rule. The results of these studies are contained in two books published by the Syracuse University Press: The Jews in the Soviet Union, by Solomon M. Schwarz; and The Jews in the Soviet Satellites, by Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, and Nicolas Sylvain, both books by outstanding authorities.

The brief summary I am going to present is based on first-hand and authentic sources gathered and evaluated in the two books, on a current study of Communist publications, or press reports, on carefully evaluated testimonies by refugees and eyewitnesses, and on other firsthand materials.

Eastern Europe, now under Soviet rule, was the home of the most populous and most important Jewish communities in the world. These were ancient centers of Jewish religion and Jewish culture. A terrible catastrophe overtook them when the Nazis conquered these countries and ruthlessly exterminated millions of innocent men, women, and children. The surviving Jews—2 million of them in the Soviet Union and several hundred thousand in the satellite countries—are just the remnants of these once flourishing communities.

The survivors in the territories occupied by the Nazis emerged sick, starved, and destitute from German concentration camps and underground places of hiding. They found their homes occupied by strangers, their property lost, their families decimated or scattered, their relatives and friends exterminated. With fierce energy, they set about re-creating a personal and communal life for themselves, hoping to rediscover an existence of peace and security. And then all their hopes were crushed by new terror and oppression.

After a short period of hope fed by Communist promises, a new totalitarian oppression pushed them back into poverty and misery, destroyed their laboriously rebuilt communal and cultural institutions, forced them to renounce and deny their cherished traditions, and subjected them to new discrimination, violence, and mass deportation. Meanwhile, rabid anti-Semitism reappeared under a new flag, threatening the very lives of Jewish citizens.

During the first years of their existence, the satellite regimes attempted to deceive the democratic world with pretensions of "democracy of a new type" and of a "peaceful way to socialism." They deceived the Jewish minorities as well, promising them equal rights, the restitution of Nazi-seized properties, economic rehabilitation, complete freedom to develop their religion and culture, and the complete elimination of anti-Semitism by the "new social order."

All of these promises were broken. By a series of violent coups, the Communists exterminated the democratic opposition and transformed the satellite countries into outright one-party dictatorships and virtual Soviet colonies.

The restitution of Nazi-expropriated properties was sabotaged by the Communist bureaucracy from the very beginning. Some Jews were robbed of their rights under the restitution laws by being stamped as Germans, collaborators with the Nazis, or "antisocial elements."

In other cases, the law was broken, the courts terrorized, and the claimants silenced by threats or direct violence. So long as private property and small business enterprises were still tolerated, many Jews were excluded from restitution by these methods of discrimination and intimidation. Those Jews, who despite these Communist tactics were able to build a new existence, were expropriated again when complete nationalization was decreed in 1948 and 1949. During this struggle, Communist leaders revived and exploited the most vicious anti-Semitic cliches. The Jews again were denounced as "exploiters" and "thieves of nationalized property."

It was the Czechoslovak Minister of Propaganda Vaclav Kopecky who as early as 1947 referred to the Jews as "those bearded Solomons," "this Jewish scum," and accused former Jewish inmates of concentration camps of having been late in joining national resistance movements in wartime.

Hungarian Communist leaders helped organized anti-Semitic pogroms in Miskolcz and Kunmadaras and protected the instigators of these pogroms from prosecution. It was a Communist militia which stood by when mobs were murdering Jewish citizens in Kielce in Poland in 1946, and rioting against Jews in Bratislava in 1947 and 1948.

The expropriation of the middle and lower-middle classes in the Soviet satellite countries left many thousands of Jewish citizens unemployed and destitute. The Communist regimes did not make any real effort to reintegrate them into the new economic system.

From Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, where there were the largest concentrations of Jewish population, the American Jewish Committee received repeated reports of Jewish misery and starvation. Up to 1948, American and other foreign Jewish organizations were able to feed and clothe large sections of the Jewish population.

In 1948 and 1949, these relief organizations were expelled from Soviet-dominated territories, their offices closed, their native officials arrested, their assets seized, and the charitable institutions they had helped to rebuild nationalized.

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish population were eliminated from economic life, forced to live by selling their clothing and household articles or by engaging in marginal economic activities; those who were caught in these so-called illegal transactions were punished by imprisonment, deportation to concentration camps, and often death.

In 1952, the Communist governments of Hungary and Rumania, following the Soviet example, decided to solve the problem of this "surplus population." They herded the "unproductive elements," including many thousand Jews, into boxcars and deported them to remote rural communities, concentration camps, and other places of detention where the poor victims were left starving and freezing.

You will recall that during Hitler's domination, he required Jews under his control to identify themselves by a yellow band with the star of David on it. Some of the Jews retained these as souvenirs and when the decrees about deportation were promulgated some of them again donned those stars. They were right. Communist methods were imitating those of the Nazis.

At the same time, Jewish communal institutions rebuilt by the efforts of the Jewish population, and with the help of American welfare organizations, were destroyed by the direct intervention of the government. Zionist organizations, not only political but also cultural and charitable, were outlawed and their leaders arrested. The same fate befell non-Zionist groups such as the Jewish Socialist Bund of Poland, the Social Federation of Hungarian Jews, the Association of Czech Jews, the Union of Rumanian Jews, the Jewish Party in Rumania, and many others; liberal and Socialist groups were persecuted with the same violence as more conservative organizations.

Jewish schools were closed, regardless of whether their orientation was traditional, or secular, and regardless of the language of instruction. Jewish periodicals and cultural associations were suppressed. Only a few pitiful remnants of the once extensive Jewish school system were allowed to exist in order to indoctrinate their students with communism and educate them in hatred of Israel, of the Jewish religion, and of Jewish traditions. Let me cite just one example: There had been 122 Jewish schools in Rumania in the spring of 1948. In the summer of that year, they were all closed down by a government decree.

The following year 3 of these 122 schools were allowed to reopen under Communist leadership, and, to add insult to injury, a representative of the Rumanian Ministry of Education had the effrontery to declare that the Rumanian Jews had never been so well off—for the first time in history, they were allowed to have their own schools. This incident illustrates well both the ruthlessness as well as the hypocrisy of all Communist regimes.

Jewish hospitals, orphan asylums, dispensaries, old people's homes and similar institutions, rebuilt after the war with American funds, were nationalized and put to common use, i. e., expropriated. And representatives of foreign Jewish welfare organizations which had contributed the means for their rebuilding, were expelled as "spies," some of them, like Israel Jacobson, the director of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Budapest, after being detained and tortured in Communist jails.

The Jewish religious communities, the only Jewish organizations still allowed to exist in most of the satellite countries, were taken over, against the will of their members, by Communist commissars and transformed into instruments of Communist propaganda. Many synagogues were closed, many rabbis jailed or forced to flee.

Recently, 32 Rumanian rabbis, some of whom had been repeatedly arrested and tortured, were forced to sign a statement extolling the wonderful life of Rumanian Jews under the Communist regime. Yet at the very same time several hundred prominent former leaders of Rumanian Jewry, after many years of detention, were sentenced to draconic jail terms for no other reasons than their Zionist convictions and their adherence to Jewish religious traditions.

A few remaining synagogues are maintained in order to give to credulous foreign visitors the impression that there is religious freedom.

In actual fact, religious education of the youth outside the home is well-nigh impossible, and persons who practice the religions of their forefathers are subject to every possible pressure and discrimination. The number of religious communities is dwindling, synagogues are being closed or transformed into Communist clubs, the observance of the Sabbath is penalized by extra hard work. The activity of the Communist-dominated communities is more and more reduced to compulsory participation in spurious Communist "peace campaigns."

Thus the Jewish population of the Soviet satellite countries has been expropriated, pauperized, robbed of its communal institutions, and deprived of its own cultural life. Some observers expected that at least those Jews who had renounced their religion and cultural tradition and considered themselves completely assimilated would be treated as equal citizens and protected against the scourge of anti-Semitism. But even this modest expectation was disappointed. Far from being liquidated, anti-Semitism reappeared in its most virulent forms and became, as under the Nazis, an instrument of government policy.

After the war, a wave of bloody pogroms swept the "liberated" Eastern European countries. In Kielce, Poland, in 1946, 41 Jews were

killed by enraged mobs while the Communist-led militia stood by or arrested Jews. This was only the culmination of a whole series of murderous attacks on Jews in which several hundred Jewish citizens lost their lives. In Czechoslovakia, 15 Jews, returning from a concentration camp, were killed in the Slovak village of Svinna in 1945 and the perpetrators were never prosecuted.

In September of the same year, bloody anti-Jewish riots took place in Velke Topolcany and other places. New anti-Semitic incidents occurred in Bratislava in August 1946 in connection with a convention of the Communist-dominated organization of guerrillas. They were repeated in August 1948.

In Hungary, Communist leaders instigated and organized pogroms in Miskolcz and Kunmadaras; their protectors still occupy high places in the Hungarian Communist Government. Communist propaganda always tried to blame these incidents on former Fascists and reactionary elements. There is no doubt that the Communist encouraged such elements to participate in the riots wherever they could.

Moreover, the Communist organizers instigated and prepared the riots and the Communist police did nothing to prevent them, in many cases protecting the instigators instead of the victims.

Again, I stress the fact that these were not private activities, they were government-sponsored activities.

At the end of the forties and in the early fifties the Communist Parties and governments, on orders from Moscow, began to organize anti-Semitic campaigns openly. Party and state officials of Jewish origin were ousted from their positions and arrested in systematic purges. At first these purges did not expressly stress the Jewishness of the victims; their organizers relied upon the Jewish-sounding names of the wrongdoers to convey their message.

A parallel campaign, conducted in the Soviet Union, victimized thousands of Jewish intellectuals accused of political unreliability. They were charged simultaneously with both cosmopolitism and Jewish nationalism, their original Jewish-sounding names being added in brackets, in cases where the victims had adopted Russian-sounding names. The impact of these denunciations on the popular mind can be easily imagined.

The epithet "cosmopolitan," "alien," "rootless," "wandering," used to denote persons of Jewish origin, evoked the hateful stereotypes of anti-Semitic propaganda.

As time went on even this was considered insufficient. In November 1952, an openly anti-Semitic trial, unprecedented in its scope, was conducted in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Rudolf Slansky, a Jew, and 13 codefendants, 10 of them of Jewish origin, were tried for treason, sabotage, espionage, murder; they were forced to confess and were finally executed or sentenced to prison for life.

Every defendant who was of Jewish origin was expressly identified as a Jew in the text of the indictment. And this is true though all these men for all their adult life had spurned Judaism, had opposed it and left it completely.

Hundreds of other Jews were implicated as "coconspirators." The three non-Jews among the defendants were described—like their Jew-

ish colleagues—as tools of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy directed by the statesmen of Israel and the leaders of American Jewry.

This was not an anti-Zionist, but an anti-Jewish trial. The victims, all of them Communists of long standing, were falsely described as Zionists or Jewish nationalists, though in their early youth they had renounced the Jewish religion and all ties with the Jewish community and throughout their adult lives had violently opposed Zionism and any kind of Jewish nationalism. It was absolutely clear that the word "Zionist" was simply a substitute for the word "Jew." But the word "Jewish" was also used profusely throughout the proceedings; it appears on almost every page of the official trial record.

Slansky and his codefendants were accused of every possible crime and some that were downright impossible. They had to confess to responsibility for all the failures and crimes of the Communist regime: The disorganization of the economy, the inflation of the currency, the catastrophic errors in planning, the scarcity of food and fuel, the exploitation, misery and starvation of Czechoslovak workers and peasants.

All that was blamed on the Jews. I have commented on the parallel between what the Communists are doing and what the Nazis have done; but there is another parallel here and that is the parallel between the old czarist regime and the Communists. Under the czars, also, when the masses began to complain, when they could no longer take the oppression and suffering that they were enduring, it was a standard policy of the czars to incite the masses, the poor peasants against the Jews, and in that way deflect their anger away from the regime.

Just as we have seen communism take over the old czarist imperialism we have also seen the Communists take over the technique of using the Jew as a scapegoat for the suffering resulting from the policies of the Communists.

And these people were accused not as individuals but as members of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy and as agents of American imperialism. Thus the Jews—all the Jews—were made the scapegoats against whom all the resentment and hatred of the starving and oppressed population was to be directed.

In January 1953 false accusations against Moscow Jewish doctors who "confessed" to having murdered Soviet statesmen on orders from Washington and Israel transmitted by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, added new fuel to the fire. Thousands of Jewish doctors were arrested in the Soviet Union, as well as in Hungary and other satellite countries. The Communist Party of East Germany, where only a few Jews were left, even accused some of its non-Jewish leaders of being in the service of the worldwide Jewish conspiracy. The Communist-imposed leaders of the Jewish religious community in Hungary went to jail, together with Government officials of Jewish origin. In Rumania, the demotion of the former Foreign Minister Anna Pauker began a new wave of purges and anti-Jewish manifestations.

This anti-Semitic drive by no means stopped when the Soviet Government, after the death of Stalin and for reasons connected with intraparty struggles, was forced to admit that the charges against

the Moscow doctors were false, the documents forged, the confessions extorted. Except for 13 of the 15 Moscow doctors who were the principals in the case, none of the thousands of victims of the purge were restored to freedom.

The charge of a global Jewish anti-Communist conspiracy, raised in the Slansky trial and in all subsequent proceedings, was never retracted; quite the contrary, it was repeated again and again, in the press, in meetings, in statements of Government officials, and even in the United Nations.

In 1953 and 1954, in a whole series of new trials, the "confederates" of Slansky, most of them Jews, were tried and sentenced to lengthy jail terms.

In addition to local Jewish citizens, the victims included two citizens of Israel, Mordecai Oren and Shimon Orenstein, who disappeared in Czechoslovak jails after being held incommunicado for many months and forced to confess to horrendous crimes.

In Slovakia, the former leaders of the Slovak Communist Party, friends of former Foreign Minister Vlado Clementis, and themselves non-Jews, were forced in a spectacular trial in April 1954 to confess that they had furthered and covered the criminal activities of Zionists and Jewish capitalists. In Rumania, several citizens of Jewish origin were implicated in a trial against the former Minister of Justice, Lucretiu Patrascanu; one of them was executed, the rest condemned to jail, again for the same purpose: To find a scapegoat for the regime's own crimes.

In another series of secret trials conducted in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania during the last few months, hundreds of Zionists and other former leaders of Jewish communities detained in jails since 1948 and 1949 were sentenced to life or for many years in prison for collecting money for Zionist causes, organizing emigration to Israel, and similar activities—all of which were completely legal and sometimes even encouraged by the authorities at the time when they were conducted.

All this is going on despite the international obligations the Governments of Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria undertook in the peace treaties, in spite of the guaranties of equality in the constitutions of these enslaved countries.

The persecution of Jews is, of course, only a part of the general policy of terror and suppression under which all nations of the Soviet orbit, all victims of Communist aggressions, are suffering.

Certainly it is not the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe but their Moscow masters and their native Communist leaders who are responsible.

The American Jewish Committee is grateful to this committee of the House of Representatives for the opportunity to help counter the fraudulent Communist propaganda about the alleged respect for human rights in the Soviet empire and to reveal the truth about the totalitarian regimes.

It joins other American groups and organizations in a public protest against the brutalities of totalitarian tyranny, and appeals to all men of good will in the free world to raise their voices in support of

the innocent victims—Jewish and non-Jewish—of Communist aggression and oppression.

Thank you.

Are there questions?

Mr. KERSTEN. Yes; Mr. Engel, there may be some questions.

Mr. BONIN. I just simply wish to commend Mr. Engel for the fine statement and summary of these Communist atrocities against the Jews and non-Jews. It has become very obvious that we have people in the United States today who feel sympathetic toward this Communist cause. They are probably misled, just as some of the Jewish people in the countries behind the Iron Curtain at the present time were induced even to sacrifice their own religion and way of life for something they thought would probably benefit them in the future.

I sincerely hope that we can get this story across, Mr. Engel, to all the people who may have some thought that there is a utopia in communism.

I was very interested in your statement here, concerning the trial of those Jewish doctors. I assume that it also goes as far as Jewish lawyers.

Mr. ENGEL. Frankly, Mr. Congressman, I don't know that they have lawyers in the Communist regime and, speaking as a lawyer, that may be one of the evils of the regime. I have not heard or read of any lawyers being allowed to operate under the Communist regime. Maybe those of us who are lawyers should stress that, that in a country that does not permit lawyers, you don't have civil liberty.

Mr. BONIN. There is a complete elimination of it.

Mr. ENGEL. That is right. You can't get a man to stand up in court and defend your rights in the Soviet regime.

Mr. BONIN. We had testimony in Berlin concerning the method and the procedure of trials under Communist-dominated governments. It was discovered that both prosecutor and defense attorney are interested only in the welfare of the state and of communism.

Mr. ENGEL. That is right.

Mr. BONIN. It is very unfortunate that conditions of that kind exist throughout the world. I hope that your organization will continue its good work and fight this menace which is confronting the free nations.

Mr. ENGEL. We think one of the major contributions we can make is to get the facts and get them out, using this committee as a forum and other forums that are available.

I might say this, if I might, Mr. Bonin, in talking about court procedures under the Communist regime. It is almost impossible for an American to grasp this fact, that the authorities in any one of these countries can go out and in the dark of night, seize any number of men from their homes, take them from their families, put them in cells, give no information as to where they are, what the charges are against them, keep them there indefinitely—in many cases, their families never hear what happened. That is just an instance of what happens when you have a totalitarian regime of this kind where the rights of the individual are given no recognition whatever.

Mr. BONIN. Thank you very much.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I want to commend you on your fair and fine presentation. I think I would like to make one correction regarding your statement regarding lawyers. I think probably they do have lawyers but the difference is this, that whereas in this country, in democracies, a lawyer is an instrument of defense of individual rights against abuses by the state, in Soviet Russia and the Communist countries the lawyer is an instrument of the state to bar individual rights.

Mr. ENGEL. That is what I meant to state.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have just one observation. Of course, we all know that the Jewish people were among the first and primary victims of the Nazi regime. We know the motivation of the Nazis, the alleged motivation of the Nazis in persecuting the Jews. What would you consider would be the major motivation of the Communists in persecuting the Jews, despite the fact that they were the first victims of nazism?

Mr. ENGEL. Now, Mr. Machrowicz, you are asking me to figure out the working of the Communist mind and that is a difficult thing to do. If I tried to apply logic and reason and look at the facts and say, "Now, why have they done this?" the only reason I can figure out is the reason I mention in my statement: They have grown up in Russia where it was customary, if the people were suffering more than they could take, to go out and circulate false stories about Jews and organize a pogrom. The pent-up passion of the people would be released and the regime could then go on its way.

I think we have a similar situation now, because the people are suffering from what is happening and they are beginning to mutter and to complain and, by saying that they are being undermined by the Jews, the people in authority are trying to escape—they are using the old technique of the scapegoat. Just as Hitler said Germany lost World War I because it was stabbed in the back by the Jews. That is the only logical explanation that I can give.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The reason I say that is, we know in this country today the Communists are doing what they can to promote their cause among those who are less fortunate in this country, as for instance, the Negro population. But the truth is that they probably would be among the first victims of communism, should the Communists ever get into control, just as the Jews were victimized in the countries occupied by Communists today.

Mr. ENGEL. That is true, and I think it is one of the evidences of the fundamental strength of American democracy, that these elements—and we can't deny that in some cases they have ground for complaint and with relation to them our democracy is not perfect—and yet the Communist appeal to those elements by and large is a failure. The number who have responded has been infinitesimal compared to the population.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Dodd, of Connecticut?

Mr. DODD. I might say to you, Mr. Engel, your statement reminds me and I am sure it does others, of testimony that we have heard from others who have appeared before this committee. The suppression of religion is part of the pattern, a pattern which doesn't seem to vary

much in its operation. We have heard from Catholic and Protestant clergymen about the closing of their churches, about the fact that a few of them were permitted to remain open as showplaces for propaganda, and so on. The persecution of the Jews seems to me to have been inevitable from the beginning.

I was interested in your observation that it might be a device to divert the attention of a dissatisfied people. That may be so, but I think there is a deeper cause than that and I wonder if you don't agree.

I think that in the very nature of the Communist organization, it would be impossible ultimately for the Communists to permit any organized religious group to function in a Communist state. And that was just as true of the Nazis. You will understand when I say this is old stuff to me. I have heard it all before. The frightening similarity between these two forms of tyranny is something that a lot of people have failed to note.

I have always considered it as a sort of worldwide revolution against freedom and I think the Communist side of it is identical with what we call the Nazis, or the Fascists, on the other hand.

I think your testimony will help a lot. It also seems to me that the principal function of our committee is educational, and informational. We, as a congressional committee, can't do very much about what the Communists are doing behind the Iron Curtain, but we can make a record of what has gone on there. We can make available to people who do not know now—some people who still will have to make a choice between communism and freedom—we can let them know what has gone on, what happens to people whether they be Christians or Jews, or whatever, and to that extent and others as well, you have helped us a lot and I think it is a valuable contribution.

Mr. ENGEL. When it comes to organized religion, you are absolutely right; there is no distinction in the minds of the Communists between the Protestant, the Catholic, and the Jewish religion. All of those are being oppressed in the same way.

I think there is one distinction with reference to the Jews. They are being persecuted not only as a religious group but as members of an ethnic group. In other words, if a Catholic or Protestant has left his religion and become an active Communist, he, I think, is relatively free as long as he follows their rules. That has proven not to be true in the case of Jews and I think some other ethnic minorities.

Mr. DODD. That is all I have.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. You used the term "Soviet Union, proper."

I wonder if, when you so referred to Soviet Union proper, you have in mind the U. S. S. R., which is comprised of 10 nations. Muscovy—Russia proper—being one, which is the only Russian nation within the U. S. S. R. The other 15 nations are non-Russian nations, such as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Turkestan, and others.

Is that your interpretation?

Mr. ENGEL. That is true. I was trying to distinguish between Soviet Union proper and the satellite countries, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and so forth.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Of course, the so-called satellite countries are captive countries just as are the other 15 non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R., and the only difference between them is a period of years in which they were subjugated by the Russian Red colonial imperialism.

Mr. ENGEL. Those 16 were not originally subjugated by the Communists. They were under the czarist regime. I am trying to distinguish—and I think this distinction is generally recognized—between the territory and the people who were governed by the Russian czars, and the adjoining countries in Eastern Europe which theoretically are still separate countries but are thoroughly controlled by Moscow, although theoretically and technically they are not a part of the Russian Government.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, all of the 15 non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. had, centuries ago, their own separate independent nations and after the breakup of the Czarist Russian empire, after World War I, all of those nations, even though of short duration, had reestablished their own independent governments and they were taken over by Muscovy, the heartland of which is Russia, so that they are just the same independent nations as are the so-called satellite nations, which are just captive nations, like East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, Albania, and now, take North Korea, China, the mainland, and other nations.

I just wanted to get that out.

Mr. ENGEL. I get your distinction. I hadn't though that through. If by some good fortune the Communist regime should collapse tomorrow, I don't know how much of the Russia that existed in 1917, we will say, would come into 1 unit or whether it would break up into 16 separate units as you say. But I think in general there is a distinction in the public mind between the U. S. S. R. even consisting of 16 formerly separate nations on the one hand, and, on the other, the so-called satellite countries which were not within the Russian orbit until recently.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I say that there is a misconception broadcast throughout the United States and the free world by so-called Russia-firsters who are trying to bring into the Soviet Union a Russia, proper, which does not exist because these citizens of these 15 non-Russian nations are not Russian any more than a Pole is a Russian.

Mr. ENGEL. I think that is a very good distinction which frankly had not occurred to me. Perhaps because one distinction is, whether they belong there or not, today those 16 nations are controlled directly from Moscow. They don't go through the pretense of having separate independence, whereas in the case of the satellite countries there is a purported government which professes to rule but which does not rule. I think there is that distinction.

You are right, Mr. Congressman. We shouldn't assume that if the Soviet regime breaks up, these 16 nations will remain in a single unit.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I assure you that they shall certainly not because there burns in the hearts and minds of all these 15 non-Russian nations, a patriotism, a love of God and country, and they are separatists. They want to be separated from Mother Russia just as the United

States, originally the colonists, wanted to be separated because they had not only the right but the duty to separate from any form of tyranny.

That is all.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Engel, I want to congratulate you on a magnificent statement. I think you have given us a real contribution here, and have pointed out the essential, irreconcilable conflict between the Communist concept and Judeo-Christianity which is the basis of our civilization.

You have pointed out the principles involved, and from them flow the ideas that are certainly very obvious and should be known to us all, of the great contribution the Jews have made to civilization, in defining the spiritual nature of man, wherein man owes his allegiance to his Creator.

In our American Declaration of Independence we acknowledge that our rights come from our Creator. This great contribution is of Jewish origin, as it is the origin of the Jewish civilization, wherein man was defined as a spiritual being, paying his allegiance to his God. And it is in this particular realm where there is the irreconcilable conflict between us and the Communists. Under communism the state becomes a god, under communism it is either Stalin or Malenkov who is the final authority of man. This is the opposite of the principles that you have expounded, wherein the Creator is the final authority with regard to man. Do you not think that this is the basic conflict?

Mr. ENGEL. That is right, and there can be no reconciliation between those two viewpoints.

Mr. KERSTEN. I was particularly interested in some of your statements regarding the similarity between the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis, and that of the Communists now.

Would you not agree with me that some of the evidences of the use of former Nazis by the Communists—say, in East Germany, where there are Nazis apparently in full bloom, again—of former Nazis, who are the equally efficient tools of the Communists, would this not also indicate the identity between the nature of the Nazis and the Communists in persecuting human beings?

Mr. ENGEL. Absolutely, Mr. Chairman. We have seen that once they get together there is no reason why Nazis and Communists can't collaborate and they very often do.

You may have seen this presentation of that problem: If you think of the political spectrum as being a straight line, with the Fascists and Nazis on the right and the Communists on the left, they seem far apart; but if you think of it as a horseshoe, they gradually come closer and closer together and finally join.

Mr. KERSTEN. Again, I want to thank you, Mr. Engel, for a magnificent statement, expounding the principles upon which our civilization rests.

Thank you.

Mr. ENGEL. It has been a privilege and an honor.

Mr. KERSTEN. Raise your right hand, Madam Witness. You do solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Madam WITNESS. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF MADAM WITNESS

Mr. McTIGUE. Before I develop your testimony, Madam Witness, I am going to ask you why you are wearing this hood. Why you are appearing here with a veil on. Will you tell me that, please?

Madam WITNESS. Yes, of course.

I am wearing a veil in order to hide my identity and thereby protect my relatives whom I still believe to be alive behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you speak as loudly as you can into the microphone.

Madam WITNESS. Will you please repeat your question?

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you please tell the committee why you are appearing here today in New York with a veil over your head.

Madam WITNESS. I am doing so, because I hope that in this way I can better protect my relatives behind the Iron Curtain who I hope may be still alive. Although I dont' know it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Wearing the veil was at your insistence, wasn't it?

Madam WITNESS. Of course it was.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was it because you were very much afraid?

Madam WITNESS. I was extremely afraid.

Mr. McTIGUE. I wanted to make the record clear on that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Well, Mr. Counsel, we have had other instances of witnesses who have appeared before us protecting their identity because of the same or similar reasons and to us as members of the committee, who have run into this situation before, it is quite understandable how a person with relatives or friends behind the Iron Curtain is deathly afraid of their identity in some way having repercussions upon their loved ones behind the Iron Curtain. So with this insistence and with this understanding, the witness may be permitted to proceed, but let me ask you this question: You do know the identity, yourself, of this witness and have investigated the background of the story?

Mr. McTIGUE. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. We have the witness' proper name in our files.

Mr. KERSTEN. And you are satisfied as to the credibility of the witness and the advisability of proceeding to have her testify?

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes, I am, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. You may proceed, Mr Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Madam Witness, you were born in the Ukraine, in the 1920's, is that right?

Madam WITNESS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your father was a prominent professional man in a certain city in the Ukraine, is that right?

Madam WITNESS. Exactly. He was a professional man but he never was a member of the party.

Mr. McTIGUE. He was never a member of the Communist Party?

Madam WITNESS. Yes, of course. Whenever I say "the party" I mean "the Communist Party."

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to your father?

Madam WITNESS. Well, the first recollection of a serious incident that happened to my father was—the first recollection I have dates to 1931–32. It was the time of the so-called Soviet gold rush. The goal

of this Soviet gold rush as I learned later, was to get as much gold, valuables, and dollars from the people as possible. During this gold rush, my father and my grandfather were arrested, and, I found out, were tortured in a prison of the GPU, which at that time was the name of the Soviet police.

Mr. McTigue. Now, you talked about the Soviet gold rush. At least that is the way you have described it.

Do you mean at that time the Communists were extracting as much of the wealth of the population as they could? They were taking the valuables, the jewelry——

Madam Witness. Yes, I believe so. And my grandfather, who was an orthodox Jew, particularly suffered in prison because he was prevented from fulfilling the daily religious rituals required by his faith.

Mr. McTigue. Were the Jews the primary objective of this so-called Soviet gold rush?

Madam Witness. As I heard later, the Soviet gold rush was directed primarily against the Jews because they were supposed to have relatives in America who might pay for their ransom in dollars. At that time there was a serious shortage of dollar exchange in the Soviet Union.

Mr. McTigue. Were there cases where Jews were held as hostages, pending the payment of money from the United States and others?

Madam Witness. I believe there were such cases, and I have the impression that I have heard about such a case, but I can't tell you much about it because I don't have a good recollection of it.

Mr. McTigue. Did they take your father's valuables?

Madam Witness. Oh, yes; they took away everything, and, as I learned later, my father even threw away a very large diamond ring—threw it away, impulsively moved to do so through an overpowering fear of a new arrest, the harrassment of new interrogations, and also because he did not want everything to go into the hands of the Communists—of his torturers.

Mr. McTigue. Your father was arrested and beaten up and you recall that as a youngster, do you?

Madam Witness. Oh, yes; I do.

Mr. McTigue. Was this Soviet gold rush referred to as the Soviet gold rush among the populace of the Ukraine, at that time? Is that the way they described it?

Madam Witness. Yes.

Mr. McTigue. Did they describe it in that fashion?

Madam Witness. Well, as a matter of fact, this name "Soviet gold rush," was spread all over the Soviet Union because the gold rush took place in every city and every village of the Soviet Union. But this name of "Soviet gold rush" is an ironical one, and it implies a comparison between the American gold rush where people were trying to dig gold from the earth, and the Soviet gold rush where the Soviets were trying to dig gold out of the people—that is, where they were trying to get gold out of the people by means of physical torture in their prisons.

Mr. McTigue. Were you educated in the Ukraine?

Madam Witness. Exactly.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you attend school in the Ukraine?

Madam WITNESS. Until 1941.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, can you tell us something about your education?

Madam WITNESS. Yes. The most important thing to mention of that period of my life is my realization, while I was still a schoolgirl, that the Soviet school system was organized in such a way as to control the family. I realized it when the trials of 1937 started.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is there a system of—let us call it spying, in the schools.

Madam WITNESS. Oh, yes, of course. This is what I meant by control over the family. This is being carried out through the so-called party organizers who play a very important role in the Soviet school. These are the people who take care of the political education of youngsters whom they organize in the so-called Soviet Pioneer Organization. It comprises youngsters from 10 to 16, who are compelled to meet in the school building several times a week and discuss politics. Through these meetings party organizers try to find out what the family thinks about current events; although, of course, they do not do it directly.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were your own folks or your own father and mother, for example, afraid of you, as far as this system was concerned?

Madam WITNESS. Yes; they were. It came as a terrible shock to me the first time I realized that my parents were afraid of me, afraid to let me know what they were really thinking about current events. This happened when a friend of ours was arrested. He was charged with having poisoned dogs with a poison with which he was accused of planning to poison the water in our town in case of war with the Germans.

I am sure that my father didn't believe a word of this accusation. Knowing that I would be interrogated by party organizers, he thought it prudent to give me the official reason for our friend's arrest. As he was telling me this my mother abruptly left the room, and it was her attitude and manner of leaving the room that made me suspicious of what my father was trying to convince me of.

Mr. McTIGUE. In other words, they were afraid to say anything around you, afraid that you might subsequently report it in school. Not that you would do it with a view to harming them, but that was a part of the system.

Madam WITNESS. They were afraid that party organizers could make me talk, so that I wouldn't even be aware that I would be denouncing my parents.

Mr. McTIGUE. You talk about the Pioneer Organization. That is the organization of the very young from the age to 10 to 16.

Madam WITNESS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. After 16 they are usually taken into the——

Madam WITNESS. Komsomol.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were a member of the Pioneer Organization; is that correct?

Madam WITNESS. Yes. I could not refuse when I was asked to join the Pioneers because that would have been as good as denouncing my parents.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in the so-called reign of terror. Were there a great many arrests and deportations in the city in which you lived in the Ukraine?

Madam WITNESS. There were very many arrests and deportations and actually, as far as I recall, people wouldn't even undress on going to bed. Every minute of the night they were expecting to be arrested. In the Soviet Union arrests take place at night. Fear reigned virtually in every family all the way from the top members of the Communist Party in our city to those of the poorest workers. Everybody was afraid.

Mr. McTIGUE. You saw these arrests being made?

Madam WITNESS. I never saw arrests being made but once, returning late from a show, I saw several closed trucks rolling down the street and I knew that these cars were carrying arrested people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, do you know this: In the case of your fellow students, the students in the school that you attended, when their parents were arrested, what were they required to do on the following days in the classroom?

Madam WITNESS. Well, they had to stand up and denounce the traitors and the enemies of the fatherland, the Soviet Union. They had to do it, and I heard a schoolmate of mine, whose parents were arrested, do so; although the party organizer of the Pioneer Organization to which I belonged was humane enough not to make them denounce their own fathers. But Soviet literature and the reality of Soviet life are full of cases of children denouncing their parents, and being praised for it. Actually, this was a Soviet ideal. The Soviets wanted to impose upon the youngsters the idea that the interests of the Soviet Union and of the party are above all personal interests, including the life and welfare of one's mother and father. Actually, this idea is symbolized in the greeting of the Young Pioneers. The greeting called "salut" consists of raising one's right hand over one's head—meaning that one should hold party interests always above one's personal interests.

Mr. McTIGUE. In the classrooms, did your teachers from time to time twist facts or teach things which you as a student knew were false?

Madam WITNESS. Oh, yes. Such cases were numerous.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you give me an illustration?

Madam WITNESS. During the Soviet-German pact it became dangerous to name Germany as a Fascist country. I recall my teacher of history who, wishing to give an example of a Fascist country, spoke of Italy; and her mentioning Italy instead of Germany shocked me. It shocked also many other students. Previously to the pact Germany had been the country mostly mentioned as the chief Fascist country.

When I had to recite my lesson I naturally mentioned Italy as an example of a Fascist country, having understood that that was expected of me, and I never mentioned Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. About the time war broke out between the Soviets and Germany, what happened to your father and what happened to you?

Madam WITNESS. My father was killed by the Nazis and I fortunately escaped to Siberia where I lived for quite a while.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You went to Siberia and lived there for the rest of the war; is that correct?

Madam WITNESS. Exactly.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you tell us something about what went on in this city in Siberia where you lived during the war?

Madam WITNESS. Yes. The thing that struck me most was the black market in which most active were families of very high officials of the city.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Russians?

Madam WITNESS. Yes. Of course. They were Russians. They were Communists, which is the point of importance.

Before the American goods arrived in Russia, they were getting various goods on an unlimited ration and were selling them on the black market—the profits were terrific—and with the money they got in this way they used to buy everything, from jewelry and furs to stockings and hairpins from the poor Polish, Lithuanian, and Estonian refugees, who had ration cards but could get nothing with these, because food was distributed only in stores for party officials.

It should be pointed out that when American goods arrived, ordinary people saw nothing of them. These goods were distributed only to high party officials and their families. And these people sold the American goods on the black market just as they did with domestic goods.

The same happened to clothing and food sent by American Jewish institutions and organizations to Jews in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After the war, or just before the end of the war, did you go to Moscow?

Madam WITNESS. Yes; I went there.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Can you tell us anything about the anti-American campaign in Moscow, if there was one? When did it begin?

Madam WITNESS. I believe it began immediately after the war. It was quite surprising, because we were hoping that the alliance between the United States and Russia would become closer and closer.

Now, the first echo of this anti-American, anti-Western campaign came when people heard about several divisions, previously stationed somewhere in Rumania, being sent directly to Siberia. Their only fault was to have seen in the West that simple peasants and workers lived there as only very wealthy and high party officials and party members lived in Russia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. So their only crime was that they happened to see——

Madam WITNESS. They happened to see the truth, and they found out that the Soviet propaganda that the Soviet Union is the only country where peasants and workers live well and happily is a lie.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you leave Moscow?

Madam WITNESS. In 1946.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you married at the time?

Madam WITNESS. Yes; I was.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you tell the committee why you left the Soviet Union?

Madam WITNESS. I left the Soviet Union because I wanted to live in a free world, because in Russia there is no political freedom and hence no religious freedom, no freedom of speech, no freedom of press; and life there is just like life in a big prison.

Mr. MCTIGUE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Bonin?

Mr. BONIN. Madam Witness, did I understand you to say you are of Jewish origin?

Madam WITNESS. I think I said that.

Mr. BONIN. I didn't quite get it clearly.

Madam WITNESS. I am very sorry. Of course, I am of Jewish origin. I think I pointed it out when I spoke of my grandfather's arrest.

Mr. BONIN. Now, the school that you attended, was it a public school or was it a sectarian school?

Madam WITNESS. No; this was a public school, of course. There was no question of sectarian schools.

Mr. BONIN. Now, during your education in Moscow, did the same indoctrination follow in the higher education as it did in the elementary school?

Madam WITNESS. Of course. Definitely. It begins practically with the nursery and it ends with death.

Mr. BONIN. In other words there was no freedom of thought whatsoever so far as education is concerned?

Madam WITNESS. Definitely, because even people taking their doctorates in science and in—well, let's say in science—have to pass special examinations in Marxism and Leninism. These examinations they must take and pass periodically. The more important the scientist, the tighter is the party's control over him.

Mr. BONIN. I wish to thank you for the statement that you have made before this committee. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to comment, Mr. Chairman, on the fact that this witness testifies here today under these circumstances and in this manner. I think it is significant proof of the long arm of Communist suppression; and the fact that even here in a free country and under the protection of a congressional committee she is not able to testify as openly as she would like because of the fear of repercussions upon her family.

I would just like to ask one question because we are particularly concerned in this phase of the hearing with the treatment of the Jews under communism.

Did you notice any difference in the treatment of the Jewish population by the Communists, as compared to others—such as the Poles or the Ukrainians?

Madam WITNESS. Yes; I noticed this shortly before I was leaving Russia. I was surprised and actually shocked to find out that there were already limitations for Jewish students in the university and in other higher educational institutions.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By the Communist authorities?

Madam WITNESS. Yes. This shocked many Jewish students who had forgotten their Jewish origin and who were reminded of it actually by the fact that they were not allowed to enter into the higher educational institutions of their choice.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you have any other facts which you would care to testify to with regard to any difference in the treatment of the Jews as compared to the rest of the population?

Madam WITNESS. I am very sorry but before the war, I wouldn't be able to answer this because I just didn't experience it, except during the Soviet gold rush. That is why this matter of a special quota for Jews in higher educational institutions shocked me and all the other Jewish students.

At that time I know there were many people who refused to believe that anti-Semitism was possible in the Soviet Union. Also they refused to believe that Russia was not the happiest country on earth, but official anti-Semitism in the universities revealed to them Russia's true face.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, you testified to an incident in school in which Germany was not referred to as a Fascist power?

Madam WITNESS. Yes; but this was only after the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean while the Hitler-Stalin pact was in existence, no unfavorable comment was made of the Germans?

Madam WITNESS. Exactly. But even before the Hitler-Stalin pact, the fact that the Germans were exterminating Jews didn't bother the Soviet authorities and they never stressed it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So actually political changes and developments in the Communist line effected the changes in the line used in the schools; didn't it?

Madam WITNESS. Exactly.

Perhaps I should add also that we never had schoolbooks, because very many schoolbooks were forbidden and there was a time when teachers were just afraid to recommend one, not knowing whether it would or would not be forbidden tomorrow.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, historical facts could be changed day by day, depending upon the political developments in the world.

Madam WITNESS. Exactly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Dodd.

Mr. DODD. Madam Witness, did you attend the synagogue?

Madam WITNESS. No; this was out of the question.

Mr. DODD. That was impossible?

Madam WITNESS. It was absolutely impossible because this would be just as good as denouncing my parents.

Mr. DODD. Was that always true during your lifetime or did it develop at some point in your lifetime in Russia?

Madam WITNESS. This was true until the so-called period of religious freedom in Soviet Russia, but this freedom was extremely limited and, as we found out, people who did attend the synagogue or the church were being closely watched.

Mr. DODD. When did this start?

Madam WITNESS. With the suppression of religious freedom.

Mr. DODD. I mean in time?

Madam WITNESS. It was during the war, I believe.

Mr. DODD. Were there restrictions on the Jewish holiday observances?

Madam WITNESS. Of course. Yes. Also, I want to point out that I had never been given an opportunity to learn Hebrew because Hebrew was the forbidden language of the Zionist Party and of the Jewish clergy.

Mr. DODD. It was forbidden?

Madam WITNESS. It was the forbidden language of the Zionist Party, speaking Hebrew, teaching Hebrew or studying Hebrew was as good as proclaiming one's Zionist or religious sympathies; and that meant Siberia, of course.

Mr. DODD. Then for all practical purposes, the practice of the Jewish religious was forbidden in your time in Russia?

Madam WITNESS. Yes; definitely.

Mr. DODD. That is all I have.

Mr. KRESTEN. Congressman Feighan.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Madam Witness, in your studies were you taught or did you study, or do you remember any history about the Treaty of Pereyaslav between the Ukraine and the Muscovites in 1651?

Madam WITNESS. That was at the time of Hetman Khmelnitzki.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes; Hetman Khmelnitzki.

What was the feeling of the people in the Ukraine, in your opinion, with reference to whether they were Ukrainians or whether they accepted subjugation as Russians?

Madam WITNESS. It is very well known that Ukrainians loathed the Treaty of Pereyaslav and they were always anxious to separate themselves from Russia and become independent. In connection with Khmelnitzki, I would like to add that, as historical facts prove, there were pogroms under him just as bad as the Hitler pogroms, also, this fact was concealed in Soviet schools, so that there were very many Jewish war heroes of the last war who had risked their lives in the struggle with Hitler and were decorated with the order of Hetman Khmelnitzki and did not know that the man whose portrait they were wearing on their chest was abhorred by Jews as much as Hitler is and will always be.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Let me have that again.

Madam WITNESS. I am sorry, it is complicated.

In the days of Hetman Khmelnitzki there were terrible Jewish and Catholic pogroms. Khmelnitzki used to hang on Greek orthodox churches a pig, a rabbi, and a Catholic priest. This display was referred to as Khmelnitzki's Holy Trinity.

In the Soviet Union neither Jewish nor Catholic students knew anything about Khmelnitzki's atrocities. I learned about them only after I left Russia. What I am telling you is true, and about this you can find out in any historic book dealing with the history of the period.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is a tragedy, to me.

Madam WITNESS. Well, it is true.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do the Ukrainians consider themselves Ukrainians?

Madam WITNESS. They certainly do consider themselves Ukrainians. They are extremely unhappy because of the Russian oppression. They call union with Russia the Russian oppression, so far as I know.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Were you any place in the Ukraine when the Wehrmacht——

Madam WITNESS. Who? The Wehrmacht? No. Fortunately, I escaped.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What languages were taught in the Ukrainian schools when you attended?

Madam WITNESS. This is a very interesting question because gradually Ukrainian schools became Russian. The process of Russification was slow, but steady. The school I attended was supposed to be Ukrainian, but the language spoken there was Russian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Madam Witness, do I understand that when you referred to the gold rush, that included everyone, or was it confined to Jews?

Madam WITNESS. It included everyone but in practice, the Jews were those who suffered most, because of their close relations with America.

As a matter of fact it should be pointed out that in Russia—particularly Soviet Russia—Jews suffer a great deal because they are being constantly reproached for their relations with America and they are suspected of having American sympathies.

Mr. FEIGHAN. May I ask you one further question: In your travels throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, did you find within these various other nations, a nationalistic spirit?

Madam WITNESS. Definitely, yes. I should point out that those who suffer most are the Tadjiks, the Uzbeks, the Kazakhs, and other national minorities. Their very ancient and cultured language is being suppressed. They have been forced to accept the Russian alphabet, which is entirely different from the Arabic one that they used to have. What struck me most was that the Tadjiks, Uzbeks, and Kazakhs used to be deported in thousands to the labor concentration camps to work in the so-called projects. These are the projects where those big Soviet industrial plants are being built. The deportees had to work on these projects actually as slaves. I saw many of these people dressed in rags with bare feet, hungry, dying from various sicknesses, being left without any medical help, without any human compassion. These unhappy people used to belong to the so-called stray batalions, meaning building battalions. This is a slave labor camp term. I would like to add that I also saw many Jews in these building battalions. Once I saw an old bearded Jew, one of a building battalion that was marching through a town where I lived, fall to the ground. The battalion went ahead. No one paid any attention to the old man. With very great difficulty, and after the man lay in the

Madam WITNESS. Exactly. He was a professional man but he never 1931–32. It was the time of the so-called Soviet gold rush. The goal later I lost track of him. I am very happy for the opportunity to tell your congressional committee about these atrocities, although I would be much happier to learn that they have come to an end.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You feel, then, do you not, that all of these non-Russian nations, within the U. S. S. R., are extremely nationalistic

and what they want is right of self-determination to reestablish their own independent government?

Madam WITNESS. Exactly. They want freedom just as everybody else in Russia wants it.

Mr. FERGHAN. Thank you very much, Madam Witness.

Mr. KERSTEN. Madam Witness, you mentioned several times the Communist methods of causing fear between the parent and child; in other words, interfering with that relationship, with that bond of natural affection.

Now, I will ask you whether or not you ever heard of the story of Pavlic Morosov?

Madam WITNESS. Yes, he is the hero of the Young Pioneers and the Soviets. He is their ideal.

Mr. KERSTEN. Before our committee on several occasions we had testimony with regard to this, and also an actual Soviet school textbook which recounts the story of Pavlic Morosov, the boy who denounced his father, who by virtue of the boy's denunciation was condemned to death. That is the same Pavlic Morosov that you remember?

Madam WITNESS. Yes. I don't recall ever reading it because I never cared for reading these things, but I heard about this Pavlic Morosov at every Pioneer meeting. I know that his biography and "glorious deed" is mentioned virtually in every Soviet textbook; and I know what the Pioneer organization wants is that every child accept Pavlic Morosov as his moral ideal.

Mr. KERSTEN. He was a Young Pioneer and described as superior, is that right?

Madam WITNESS. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. As a model for other Young Pioneers.

Madam WITNESS. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. And a statue—according to the Soviet textbook that we have—a statue was raised to him in the square in Moscow.

Madam WITNESS. I probably saw the statue, but I never bothered even to read the inscription.

Mr. KERSTEN. It glorifies the boy who denounces his parents, is that correct?

Madam WITNESS. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think it is probably only in hell and Moscow where you have a statue glorifying patricide.

Madam WITNESS. In hell, Moscow—and all over the Soviet Union.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you, Madam Witness. You have made a real contribution to our hearings.

Madam WITNESS. I am very happy to have made it. It was always my hope to share my knowledge of the Soviet Union with the American people.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding; since this witness, Madam Witness, testified concerning the Soviet gold rush, I think that the record ought to show that this was referred to—the Soviet gold rush—was referred to in this country as the "dollar inquisition."

Mr. KERSTEN. We will adjourn at this time until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m., a recess was taken to reconvene at 1:30 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. KERSTEN. The hearing will come to order.

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY E. SCHULTZ

Mr. KERSTEN. Counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your name is Henry Edward Schultz, is that correct?

Mr. SCHULTZ. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are the national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I am, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that Mr. Schultz has a statement to make in connection with his appearance here today, and may I suggest that the witness be permitted to proceed with his statement?

Mr. KERSTEN. You are permitted to proceed with your statement.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you.

I appear here today before your committee as national chairman of an organization—the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—which for more than 40 years has been engaged in helping to protect the rights of minorities. The league is one of those voluntary citizens' groups which characterize and form such a basic part of the structure of American democracy. The growth of these free institutions has added much to the functioning strength of the democratic system. Such groups seem grotesque to totalitarian states, which look upon them as a political tumor.

The Anti-Defamation League was organized in 1913, as the educational arm of B'nai B'rith, to counteract racial and religious bias. B'nai B'rith, the parent organization, was founded in 1843. It is the oldest civic organization of American Jews. It now has a membership of 350,000 men and women.

Much of the league's activities are devoted to promoting good relations among all American groups, and uniting them in the enjoyment of their common and singularly rich heritage of freedom. These groups are in possession of a birthright which is not just a recital on yellowing parchment of certain inalienable liberties. The rights and freedoms they enjoy are of such common, everyday experience here in America, that, now and then, they may be inclined to grow smug, apathetic, and careless in the enjoyment of them. That is their peril.

Considering the nature of the Anti-Defamation League's program, it would be surprising indeed if it were not intimately concerned with the Communist danger.

As an American organization, the ADL has long recognized—in all its implications—the threat communism poses to this country's basic traditions and institutions.

As an agency working in behalf of the common interests of humanity, the league looks with horror upon communism's cold, cal-

culated contempt for the human personality and for normal civilized decencies and practices.

And, as a Jewish body, we view with grave apprehension the fate of those pitiful remnants of Jews in Europe who survived both Hitler's incinerators and the slavery of Stalin's labor camps.

The Anti-Defamation League has stated on numerous occasions—and it is worth restating before this committee—that one cannot be a good Jew and a Communist, any more than one can be a true Christian and a Communist. Judaism could never bed nor board with communism. They stand in direct, violent conflict with each other. The Judeo-Christian tradition is a powerful anti-Communist force—it is spiritually anchored in the free world. That is the meaning behind the Communist charge of "cosmopolite."

The mortal clash between the two is not a recent discovery on the part of Jewish organizations, whose recognition of this elementary fact dates back to a period when Communist pretense enjoyed a certain vogue and many accepted at face value the Soviet legal code's classification of anti-Semitism as a crime.

This Communist pose as a protector of minority rights has become a cruel hoax. The full extent of its true malignancy was first revealed soon after the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, when almost 600,000 Polish Jews were shipped off to slave-labor camps in Siberia. Of these, about 150,000 returned at the end of the war. The rest—some 450,000—just vanished.

It has been said of Stalin that he never advertised his kind of extermination. He worked and starved to death the Jews, along with others, in remote camps, far removed from the world's curiosity.

It was after the Second World War that the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union took a rapid turn for the worse. Jewish schools were closed, Jewish organizations dissolved, Jewish intellectuals were purged and large numbers of Jews were shipped off to the labor camps.

The systematic drive against Jews was virtually completed in the Soviet Union before it was extended to the Communist-captive states—Poland, first, then Czechoslovakia, Rumania, with a much larger Jewish community, was left for later consideration.

The trials staged in Czechoslovakia served as a pilot project for communism's official, full-blown venture into anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is the distinguishing feature that set off the Prague affair from all previous Soviet purge trials.

The Communists worked up a case of conspiracy against the defendants—most of them Jews—by gathering their trumped-up evidence from an old fake document, the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. This fantastic forgery describing a world Jewish conspiracy was cooked up by Russians more than 50 years ago, and has been completely discredited as one of the crudest and cruelest hoaxes in history.

The Czar exploited it for stirring up pogroms and the Nazis leaned on it in their anti-Semitic propaganda. The Communists revived the big lie for the propaganda experiment at Prague, disguised as a court trial, to impose false judgment on the Jewish community

throughout the world. The confessions forced from the Prague defendants reveal striking parallels, both in language and substance, with the imaginary fraudulent protocols.

Have the Communists adopted the document for other uses? One of the protocols says this:

Throughout all Europe, and by means of relations with Europe, in other continents also, we must create ferments, discords, and hostility.

Could there be a more accurate description of Soviet foreign policy?

Among the principal means used by Communists—

says a pamphlet on communism published by the Anti-Defamation League in 1951—

are destruction of existing institutions, intensification of political and racial differences and struggles, infiltration and manipulation of trade unions and other mass organizations, creation of "front" organizations, espionage, and, ultimately, armed force.

This pamphlet is called, Primer on Communism, and in question and answer form describes in the simplest, clearest terms, Communist ideology and strategy. Here are some brief quotes on Communist policy toward religion and minorities:

The principal element in Communist policy toward religion in the satellite countries is the drive of the state to obtain control of the church and make it subservient to government purposes * * *.

Communism and religion are irreconcilable * * *. The Judeo-Christian treats each man as being individually important. Communism does the exact opposite—it treats man as an instrument of the state * * *.

The Communists use of any means to an end is in direct contrast to one of the basic tenets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Talmud, for instance, says that "a good deed performed by means of a sin is invalid."

Under Communist despotism, Jews endure a fourfold difficulty. They are the victims of religious, cultural, national, and economic oppression * * *.

Generally, throughout the satellites, all formerly independent Jewish religious, educational, and social activities have been nationalized and are operated by Communist Party members or have been abolished * * *. Jewish charity organizations, including orphanages, children's homes, and hospitals have been liquidated. Jewish foreign relief organizations have been ousted. Jewish papers are permitted to publish only Communist views. Government spies sit in the synagogues, many of which have been invaded and desecrated.

Both the Anti-Defamation League and B'nai B'rith, along with other American Jewish organizations, condemned in the strongest terms the show trials in Czechoslovakia. B'nai B'rith's president, at the invitation of the Voice of America issued a special statement which was broadcast to Europe. His words have lost none of their edge, and I would like to quote a part of his statement.

Throughout the years—

he said—

world communism has tried to lure converts with the intense emotional appeal that it alone could produce a society in which no man would be abused or hurt because of his race, religion, or ethnic origin. The promise has always been cynical and dishonest. It has been implemented only when it could best serve the extension of Soviet domination anywhere in the world.

The trials and convictions of 14 Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia—12 of them Jews—are another indication of communism's basic

unconcern for human rights. We are not astonished by the definition of justice in the Soviet courtroom; justice under law has long since lost its meaning in the Communist state * * *.

The trials, and their charges of conspiracy with Zionism, were grotesque—they portend that a new time of inquisition is upon the world. They mean that anti-Semitism, under communism, has openly emerged as an instrument of totalitarian state policy, as a ruthless means of furthering political ends * * *. This is Haman, Torquemada, and Hitler. It is one of the oldest stories in the world to the people of Israel * * *.

The climax of these trials was reached in Rumania within the past year. The most recent of a series of them took place last spring. It involved such a large number of Jews as to constitute a virtual mass terror. In 1 month alone, according to very reliable reports, more than 100 leaders of the Jewish community were tried and sentenced.

The defendants were charged with a string of offenses that have grown so stale and wearisome—Zionist activities, helping Jews to emigrate, making contact with the Israeli Legation, distributing funds received from Jews abroad.

What is particularly disturbing is that these alleged crimes were committed in past years, at a time when the Rumanian Government sanctioned Zionist activities and emigration to Israel.

Outside of the Soviet Union, Rumania contained at the end of the war the largest Jewish community on the Continent of Europe. When hostilities ended in Rumania, in 1944, there were about 400,000 Jews left from the country's prewar total of 850,000.

These mass arrests were the culmination of the Communist destruction of organized Jewish life in Rumania. They were a planned and calculated move to wipe out all vestiges of Jewish communal and spiritual life.

Since the end of the Second World War, B'nai B'rith has concerned itself with the problem of the rehabilitation of European Jewry. It felt a strong moral obligation to do all it could to aid the victims of war and fascism. Besides, there was a long B'nai B'rith tradition overseas. The first B'nai B'rith lodge on the Continent was founded in Berlin in 1882, and long before the turn of the century B'nai B'rith was active in several European countries.

While B'nai B'rith never existed in Russia proper, it flourished in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Austria, as well as Germany, until the outbreak of the war.

There were 10 B'nai B'rith lodges in prewar Poland; 6 in Czechoslovakia; 5 in Bulgaria; and 50 in Austria and Germany.

Those of our people who survived the Nazis were victimized by a cruel and ironic fate. They were given much to hope for from a war of liberation. But they were liberated from one evil only to be caught in the noose of another.

After their freedom from the Nazi yoke these B'nai B'rith members labored to form some semblance of a Jewish community, and reestablished lodges in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. During this same period a new lodge was founded in Budapest, numbering about 2,000 members. Its existence, however, was short lived.

The Communist regimes, under one pretext or another, arrested the B'nai B'rith leadership, confiscated B'nai B'rith property, and totally wiped out every vestige of B'nai B'rith organizational life.

In Eastern Europe B'nai B'rith worked hand-in-hand with agencies representing other faiths to help those who needed it, despite their religious affiliation. In Hungary, for example, Catholics and Jews established a joint relief program. In 1946, on orders from Cardinal Mindzsenty, part of a shipment of relief packages from American Catholics was also distributed among needy Jews. In turn, American B'nai B'rith lodges collected thousands of gift parcels for shipment to the needy, Christian and Jew alike, in Hungary.

We labor under severe handicaps in seeking to help our B'nai B'rith members behind the Iron Curtain. Many of them are suffering acutely at the hands of their Communist tormentors. It is well-nigh impossible to get any funds through to help these unfortunates, and the Communist authorities block any move to aid them to emigrate.

B'nai B'rith's main efforts behind the Iron Curtain have been directed, of course, toward the help and rehabilitation of the victims of Communist oppression. In the light of the magnitude of the human tragedy in Eastern Europe, our efforts to recover possession of the property owned by lodges there may seem of small consequence. But these properties were not the kind normally owned by lodges. They were philanthropic institutions which served both Jew and Christian alike, and there is a dire need for the services they were meant to provide.

We know of at least 65 such institutions. To cite a few: There is a home for children in Prague; there are free nursing stations in Breslau, Poland; free public kitchens in Bucharest; an institute for girls in Jassy, Rumania; and a library and reading room in Cracow.

These properties were expropriated by the Communist governments. Despite representations, made through diplomatic channels, we have been unable to get restitution of these properties or compensation for their loss.

Similarly, our application for the recovery of B'nai B'rith assets in East Germany have been brushed off by the Communist authorities. In West Germany, however, we have recovered such assets located in Berlin and the American Zone of occupation. And we are completing negotiations for the recovery of properties in the British and French Zones.

Against this background of totalitarian terror—first Nazi, then Communist—we are celebrating a particularly significant landmark this month—the 300th anniversary of the establishment of the first Jewish community in the United States. It was on a September day in 1654, that a small group of 23 Jewish men, women, and children arrived in the port of New Amsterdam, in flight from Brazil after the Portuguese recaptured it from the Dutch.

That handful of Jewish pioneers had to overcome great hardships in securing and expanding their foothold. But their successful struggle is part of the struggle of other minority groups to achieve tolerance and equality in the New World. That is the story of America. That story takes on greater perspective today than ever before.

In closing, may I take this opportunity to thank the committee for having alloted time to the organization which I have the honor to head, so that we could make available to the committee what information we had on the questions into which the committee is probing. Hearings such as these, conducted by the elected representatives of the people, are another manifestation of the dynamic nature of our democracy. In the struggle for world domination between democracy and totalitarianism, there can be no doubt that democracy will triumph, so long as we remain strong and united.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you, Mr. Schultz.

Congressman Bonin?

Mr. BONIN. I simply want to thank Mr. Schultz, but I would like to ask him one question. It is sort of a personal one: Is Benjamin Epstein still a national director of your organization?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Yes, and we are very happy he is.

Mr. BONIN. Well, I happened to have gone to college with Benjamin and I have found him to be a splendid American and a fine man, and I hope you will give my best regards to him.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I will, sir.

Thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to express my admiration for the fine statement and the fine work of B'nai B'rith and particularly the Anti-Defamation League with which I have been somewhat familiar.

You agree with this anti-Semitism practiced by Communists is not an end in itself, but is just a part of a worldwide conspiracy and a part of a general pattern to wipe out the vestiges of our civilization of today?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I quite agree, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You don't think this is practiced as an end, this antisemitism, but is just one bit of a grand pattern?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Part of a total program, part of a political philosophy, part of a cynical concept that any means justifies an end.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That's all.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Dodd?

Mr. DODD. Thank you for being here. I feel you have made a real contribution to our work.

I have no questions.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Schultz, I wish to express my appreciation for your appearance and also for the excellent work that your organization has been doing and I hope that it will continue to alert the public to the evils, the dastardly programs of the Communists.

I noticed that you mentioned that the fantastic forgery of the protocols of the learned elders of Zion was cooked up, as you say, by the Russians more than 50 years ago, and has been discrediated as a hoax, but the Czar organized it.

Is not this use of anti-Semitism by the Czars just a forerunner of the attitude and the means by which the Russian Communists are carrying on their drive for world domination? In other words, Rus-

sian imperialism under the Czar is the same in its objective as Russian communism, under the present regime in the Kremlin?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I think you make a very good point, sir. The Communist state in its present form is as totalitarian as the czarist regimes were in their form. And the use of this kind of a device to divert their people who suffer under authoritarian control, from the insufficiencies of the life which they have to live, is an old weapon and apparently it is being revived by the Rusisans, today, just as it was in our judgment used so extensively by czarist regimes for the same purpose.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Mr. Schultz.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Schultz, I have a question or two.

Has B'nai B'rith been able to maintain any contact with Jewish groups behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. SCHULTZ. We have been unable to make any contact. Jews in the Soviet Union live in constant fear of outside contact, even receiving mail from the outside would open them to charges of espionage, so that the little information we get filters through from refugees who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain and the reports we get in the press.

Mr. KERSTEN. The same repressive measures are used in this instance that we have been talking about as in other instances with the people, generally?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. You stated there were no B'nai B'rith lodges in Russia. Do you know why that was?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, I believe that the record of Russia in this area has had a natural tendency to discourage the formation of B'nai B'rith lodges. The Russians have had a long history of antisemitism and pogroms and the atmosphere was never congenial for the formation of Jewish groups such as B'nai B'rith.

Mr. KERSTEN. In your opinion, Mr. Schultz, is there any connection between the systematic Soviet campaign against Zionism that is presently going on, and that has been going on, and Soviet ambitions in the Middle East?

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, I believe that the Russians, like the Nazis, have a great interest in the Middle East. I think the effort to woo the Arabs has gone on in both totalitarian regimes. United States policy is designed to find some way in which the Arabs and the Jews can live together in that troubled area and it seems to be the Communist policy to find disruption, to block such a program. When, of course, the infant State of Israel threw its weight in with the democracies, that was the final straw and the Russians have now moved to the extreme end and are charging Jews with being espionage agents of the western democracies and, of course, the slightest interest in Zionism is sufficient to send a man to jail without trial for many years. All this, I believe, and many others believe, is part of a calculated program designed to get the affection and perhaps the political support of the Arabs.

Mr. KERSTEN. You have referred to the Soviet law or laws pertaining to anti-Semitism and making it a crime, and have stated that this is a mere hoax. You have also referred to the fact that the persecution

of the Jews was carried on by Stalin and continues in the present regime in the remote camps of the Soviet Union.

I gather from those statements that the very real and substantial persecution of the Jews from the beginning of the Communist takeover has existed virtually from the beginning and it is merely because they have kept it hidden and have tried to deceive the rest of the world that it has not been known anywhere near as much as it should be known, the persecution of the Jews by the Communists. Is that correct?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I would entirely agree with the chairman. I think that anti-Semitism has been a part of Communist thinking and policy which has only recently come to light, but has existed at all times.

Mr. KERSTEN. And in a very substantial and virulent form.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I think the facts would support that.

Mr. KERSTEN. And would you not agree finally, Mr. Schultz, that the reason for this is that communism being atheistic materialism, fundamentally, is irreconcilable with the great principles and great contributions that Judaism has made to humanity, and with the principles of Judeo-Christianity, which regard man as a spiritual being, and recognize the existence of our Creator and our God, and there is the irreconcilable battle between materialistic communism and the spiritual qualities of Judaism.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I agree entirely. The chairman has stated in a manner better than I could, precisely what we intended to say.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one question: Since Mr. Schultz is the representative of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, I would suggest that for the record you might explain to us—because it is rather vague in some of our minds—just what B'nai B'rith is.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Well, first, the words B'nai B'rith are Hebrew words. The word "B'nai" means sons, and "B'rith" means the Covenant, a reference to the Covenant between the Lord and the Patriarch Abraham. "Sons of the Covenant" is the literal translation of B'nai B'rith. B'nai B'rith, itself, is a service organization. It is not a fraternal organization. There are no benefits or, as some organizations have, pensions and burial plots. B'nai B'rith carries on public service and philanthropic programs in every area of American life. In the blood banks, in the veterans' programs, in the Red Cross, in the maintenance of many hospitals, in doing every conceivable type of service. Of course, that portion of it that I have the privilege of heading, the anti-Defamation League, as all of you know, has for 40 years been engaged in this endless struggle against man's inhumanity to man and the fight against bigotry and intolerance. B'nai B'rith has, I think, one of the outstanding records in the fight against communism. We deplore people who have been misled by Communist pretentions, and promises of a nobler and better world, the always-present hope of oppressed people that in a new system there will be relief from centuries of oppression. Anybody who had been misled, is now so thoroughly chastened and understanding of that cynical pretense that we can say today, as we have tried to say here and now, that any American, any Jew, anybody of any semblance of faith who doesn't recognize today the basic cynicism and materialism of communism is just beyond hope.

B'nai B'rith in all its work and institutions has tried hard to improve, to put into realization, the practice of democratic values and practices.

Mr. KERSTEN. I show you a booklet entitled "Primer on Communism, a Fact by Fact Expose," indicating that it is prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

May I ask the reporter to mark this document "New York Exhibit No. 1, September hearings"?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I am familiar with that booklet.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Schultz, can you tell me what this booklet is?

Mr. SCHULTZ. It is one of the publications of the Anti-Defamation League which is designed to teach the facts about communism. It has had and enjoyed a very wide distribution. It has been very favorably received by all segments of the American press and American institutions. As an aside, I might say that Captain Eddie Rickenbacker just recently ordered enough copies to be distributed among all the employees of his great airline. This has been happening with commercial institutions all over the country. We regard it as a part of the work that the anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is obliged to do. We are happy to make this contribution and we are happy it has been received so well.

Mr. KERSTEN. The document will be received by the committee as an exhibit.

We thank you, Mr. Schultz, for your very excellent statement here this afternoon. Yours has been a fine, clear, forceful statement of the principles that I think all of us Americans agree upon.

Thank you.

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, sir. It has been a privilege and a pleasure.

Mr. MCTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Weinrauch. Will you come forward, please.

Mr. KERSTEN. You understand English, Mr. Weinrauch?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes, though sometimes I don't understand an occasional word.

Mr. KERSTEN. First we will swear the translator?

Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. BLUM. Eliezer Blum.

Mr. KERSTEN. Kindly raise your right hand. You do solemnly swear that you will translate, where you are called upon to translate, truly, from Yiddish into English and from English into Yiddish, so help you God?

Mr. BLUM. So help me God.

Mr. KERSTEN. Raise your right hand. You do solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HERSCHEL WEINRAUCH

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your name is Herschel Weinrauch?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were born in the Ukraine, in a small town near Kiev, is that right?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. That is right. I am a Jew, and I was born in Russian Ukraine.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What is the date of your birth?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. 1905.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You moved to Odessa in the Ukraine and spent a good deal of your life in Odessa; is that correct?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you go to school in Odessa?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. I went to school there and to the University of Odessa.

Mr. MCTIGUE. At the time you were attending the University of Odessa, did you break off one year and go to the University of Moscow?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Yes, from 1929 to 1930, I studied in Moscow, in the second Moscow University named after Lenin.

Mr. MCTIGUE. In 1930, is that correct?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And then you finally returned to the University of Odessa where you graduated, is that correct?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What did you study?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. I studied literature, journalism, philosophy, Marxism, and communism.

Mr. MCTIGUE. With emphasis on the latter, I suppose.

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. At the time while you were growing up in the Soviet Union, you were a member of the Komsomol, the young Communists?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. During your life in the Soviet Union, you were an active member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. I wasn't a member of the Communist Party. I was only a member of the Youth Communist.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you graduate from the University of Odessa?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. 1932.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What did you do following graduation from the university?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. I was sent to Biro-Bidjan.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Before proceeding with this testimony, I would like to make a comment insofar as the territory of Birobidzhan is concerned, so the committee may know whereof we talk and the territory that is under discussion here.

As I understand it, Mr. Chairman, what was to be, or what the Kremlin conceived would eventually be the Jewish autonomous territory of Biro-Bidjan, this territory lies in the far eastern part of the Soviet Union. Is that correct?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. It is situated on the Siberian-Manchurian border?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Exactly on the border of Manchuria. At that time it was in the hands of Japan.

Mr. MCTIGUE. It lies in a pocket made by a bend in the Amur River, which separates the territory from Manchukuo?

Mr. WEINBAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MoTIGUE. The chief town in the territory of Birobidzhan is also called Biro-Bidjan?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MoTIGUE. And this city of Biro-Bidjan in the territory of Biro-Bidjan is roughly about 5,000 miles from Moscow?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. It is about 12,000 miles.

Mr. MoTIGUE. The area of the region is approximately 14,000 square miles?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I think so. I can't remember exactly but I know it is——

Mr. MoTIGUE. It is considerably larger than the state of Palestine.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Four times the size of Palestine.

Mr. MoTIGUE. As I understand it, Mr. Chairman, in 1928, this territory, which is about the size of Vermont and Connecticut put together, had a population of about 34,000 people and as I understand it, its ethnic composition was made up of Russians, Ukrainians, Koreans, White Russians, and some Chinese?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. You mean it was at that time?

Mr. MoTIGUE. It was, in 1928; yes.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MoTIGUE. Getting back to 1932 when you went to the territory of Birobidzhan, did the Kremlin, or Stalin, decide to set aside this territory of Biro-Bidjan as a Jewish autonomous territory? Is that right?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Not exactly. The purpose of Biro-Bidjan was to establish an outpost to defend the Far East from the Japanese. That was in the papers.

Mr. MoTIGUE. It was to be a frontier, I suppose, between Manchuria and Russia?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MoTIGUE. It was to be an outpost?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MoTIGUE. But it was to be made up of Jews; it was a place for the Jews to go; it was an autonomous territory for the Jews; is that right?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. That is right, but——

Mr. MoTIGUE. All right. Then, let me ask the next question.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think he had some question about that.

Mr. KERSTEN. You explain what you have in mind, Mr. Weinrauch.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. The purpose in establishing the territory was to make an outpost to defend the Far East from the Japanese. The Soviet Government thought the Jewish people would be good as "Jewish Cossacks." They put the Ukrainian Cossacks on the River Don and they put the Jewish people on the River Amur with the idea that the Jewish people would defend the territory. Most of the Jewish population were not workers. They were small-business men, middle class. The Soviet Government took away from them their businesses, stores, and houses, and they had no means of livelihood.

Mr. KERSTEN. They deprived them of their means of livelihood?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. They were a declassed element. They decided to send these people to the Far East—Biro-Bidjan. The second purpose was to deport the Jewish people by giving them that territory, because before that territory they had a territory in the Crimea. There was also a Jewish territory in the Ukraine. Jewish people had Jewish towns, schools, and so on. When they sent the Jewish people to Biro-Bidjan, they took away everything they had in other places. They said they didn't need anything any more because they had Birobidzhan.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After your graduation from the University of Odessa in 1932, did you voluntarily go to Biro-Bidjan?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. If you didn't voluntarily go would you have been sent?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. They would have sent me.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You had no choice, then?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. That is right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What did you do in Biro-Bidjan when you arrived there?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I was one of the journalists of the Jewish newspaper called Biro-Bidjan Star.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you go there?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. 1932.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How long did you stay there?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Until 1938.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did there come a time while you were in Biro-Bidjan that a liquidation started, or a purge?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. I can say the situation began as soon as most Jews got there. The important Jewish leaders were purged at the very beginning.

Mr. MCTIGUE. That was at the time the purges took place in the Soviet Union; was it not?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How many Jews were in Biro-Bidjan at the peak of the immigration?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. The peak of immigration was in 1935. There were 40,000 Jews. This is exact, because we had the figures there.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you there when these liquidations took place?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you see the arrests that were made?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I saw a lot of arrests.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were prominent Jews arrested?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What happened to them; do you know?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. For example, the secretary of the Communist Party of the Jewish territory was arrested and put in prison as a Japanese spy and as a Jewish nationalist.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What were the charges that were brought against the Jews that were arrested and liquidated?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Mostly that they were Jewish nationalists.

Mr. McTIGUE. They were sent there by the Kremlin for the purpose of establishing this territory and then, later on, they were charged with being nationalists?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were some of your friends arrested?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. A lot.

Mr. McTIGUE. Could you name 1 or 2?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. For example, the president of the Jewish territory, Professor Lieberberg.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now let me ask you this: Isn't it true that prior to the time of liquidation that a great many Jews from all over the world, including the United States, were herded into Biro-Bidjan with the great promises of the great state that was eventually to evolve?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. Because of the propaganda about the future Jewish state, a lot of people from the United States, Palestine, from Poland, from the Argentine came to Biro-Bidjan. A lot of them were then arrested as spies.

Mr. McTIGUE. Isn't it true that up until a year or so ago that the Communists had a committee working in this country called Ambidjan, collecting funds for Biro-Bidjan?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How much money was collected by the Ambidjan committee?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I can't tell, but I know they collected a lot of money and machinery and they were supposed to be sending it to Biro-Bidjan, but everything went to Moscow and if machinery was sent for Birobidzhan they would send it to another place.

For instance, the committee sent a linotype for the Jewish paper. This was at a time when the Jewish paper was liquidated in Biro-Bidjan, so they changed the letters from Jewish to Russian and made it a Russian linotype.

Mr. KERSTEN. Was that sent from America, here?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This committee, Mr. Chairman, has just recently been liquidated, I think within the past year. It was on the Attorney General's list.

The fact is that this committee operated for a period of more than 10 years here in the United States collecting money under the pretense of helping to establish an independent Jewish autonomous state in the Soviet Union; is that correct?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. That is right. When I came to the United States 6 years ago, they said there was a committee to raise money for Biro-Bidjan, and there was no Biro-Bidjan any more.

Mr. KERSTEN. The Jewish territory has been liquidated?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Liquidated. If not officially, in effect it has.

Mr. KERSTEN. What happened to all the Jews, there?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I think 50 percent of the Jews were arrested. Those who were not arrested they went back to wherever they came from. Some of them went back even to the United States if they were given the chance.

Mr. McTIGUE. You said at the peak of the emigration to Biro-Bidjan, you said there were approximately 40,000 Jews living there.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is an estimate, but you were there and you should have a pretty good idea how many people were there, how many Jews were there. You held a responsible position in the community, a newspaper editor, and you say there were 40,000 people?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many were arrested? How many were liquidated? How many disappeared out of that 40,000?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I think 20,000 were arrested. I can't say exactly.

Mr. McTIGUE. About half the population?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. About that.

Mr. McTIGUE. The charge in most of the cases being that they were guilty of nationalism?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Can I give an explanation of that? It was very easy for them to perform mass arrests of the Jewish population. I would say that 80 percent of the older generation, before the revolution, they were Zionists, Socialists, and so forth, and this was the occasion to arrest them. They would say, "Ah, ha. At some time you were a Zionist." Because you came from Poland or France you were a spy. It was routine.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave Biro-Bidjan?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I left there in 1938.

Mr. McTIGUE. You got out when the getting out was good; is that right?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes; because that's when they liquidated the Jewish paper. It was very easy for me to go back. I didn't want to work for the Russian paper, and I was a little sick, and they were very happy if Jewish people would go back.

Mr. McTIGUE. They were encouraging those who weren't arrested or liquidated to get out?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you then go?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I went to Minsk.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you tell any of your friends, or your associates, or anybody, as a matter of fact, what happened in Biro-Bidjan?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. When I lived in Russia? Oh, no; you can't tell anything. I was afraid to. I have to say only that everything is good, everything is all right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Everything is fine?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. If I told something else, I would not sit now here.

Mr. McTIGUE. After you arrived in Minsk what did you do?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. In Minsk I was a free-lance writer. I wrote for the papers and I published 2 books, 2 novels.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many books have you written, incidentally?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. In Soviet Russia? Five books.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you an author of the book, Blood on the Sun?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. That I published here in the United States.

Mr. McTIGUE. I am recalling that you were a member of the Communist youth organization in Rostov.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were beginning to become a little disillusioned with communism, were you not?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did this disillusionment set in?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. This was not in 1 night. It was little by little. The first was that I didn't understand why they arrested the Zionists, because they are not enemies of Soviet Russia. They want only to have their own country, and I didn't see anything wrong. But they arrested them by the thousands and shot them as enemies.

When I was 17 years old—this is a personal tragedy in my life—my father was a rabbi and he divorced my mother when I was 1 year old, and he went to the United States. I was in Russia and I had a stepfather. My mother remarried. But in 1921, 1922, there was a big hunger in Soviet Russia. My father lived in the United States and remembered that he left a son in Russia. He wanted to save me, so he sent me packages, dollars, a little, and letters saying maybe I want to go to the United States. I was a Youth Communist. I believed then in the Communists, but I wanted to go to my father. So I wrote a letter to my father that I wanted to go to the United States, saying "Save me. I will be glad."

So then the secret police, they saw my letter and arrested me. I was 8 months in prison as an American spy.

Mr. McTIGUE. How old were you when you were arrested?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Seventeen.

Mr. KERSTEN. Was that 8 or 18 months in prison?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. It was 8.

I told them I wasn't guilty, that I don't even know my father in America, and I am not guilty, and my real father is a stepfather, and I work for you, and so forth. Every day you have to say you like them, that you like Stalin, Lenin, and the Communist Party, and after 8 months they released me.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you have any disillusionment when you studied Marxism and Leninism in the university?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. I want to tell you that all my life I think about myself that first I am a human being and second I am a Jew, but I can't get away from myself as a Jew.

When I studied Leninism or Stalinism, I studied the works, so-called, of Stalin. There was one article called Marxism and the National Problem.

In this article, Stalin is openly anti-Semitic. He said in the article that the Jewish people are not a nation, the Jewish people they are nothing. They do nothing in wartime or peacetime. That they didn't have to do anything for the Jewish culture.

I was disappointed. This was the leader of the Communist Party. The father of all the Russias, of all the folks, so I was disappointed but I couldn't tell anybody. I had two lives there: One life is against communism, but in the second life I had to say I was a Communist.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then came Birobidjzhan?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes; and then I saw Biro-Bidjan was a fake. They said they would give Biro-Bidjan for the Jewish people to establish a Jewish autonomy, but in reality they closed all the Jewish schools

and the Jewish paper and they forced me to work, instead of in the Jewish paper, in the Russian paper.

The anti-Semitism of the Communist Party is a new anti-Semitism. They didn't kill the bodies of the people, they killed the soul of the people, they killed the minds of the people: They killed the Jewish language, the Jewish history, the Jewish traditions; everything distinctively Jewish they killed. So this is more important, maybe, than when they killed the body.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you work as a newspaper editor in Minsk?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I worked there as a free-lancer.

Mr. McTIGUE. What did you do after that?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. In 1939 when Stalin and Hitler made their pact and they divided Poland into two pieces, the west part for Germany and the east for Russia—they sent the Red army in and they sent also civilian people to establish the Soviet regime in Poland. I was sent to Bialystok.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was in eastern Poland under Soviet occupation?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I was one of the civilian administrators. In Russia the Government can't do something different than the party. The party and the Government have different names but they are the same.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, we are in eastern Poland. You are there as an associate editor of the newspaper?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes, of the newspaper.

Mr. McTIGUE. The newspaper called the Star?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened while you were there?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. A lot of Jewish people from West Poland and Germany, they escape and they come to the east side of Poland, to the Soviet Russians to save their lives from Hitler. We Soviet Jews, we didn't know anything about what was going on in the German part of Poland. We didn't know that the Fascist Germans killed the Jewish people, because in the pact of Stalin and Hitler was such a point that one of them will not be against the other one.

They didn't say anything in the Soviet press about what was going on in Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. You weren't informed of what was going on?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. We weren't informed of what was going on, so we didn't know that the Germans killed the Jewish people and that they had slave camps.

Then, in 1940, in the southern zone, there were two orders. One order is that every Jew who came from German Poland would be registered to go back to the Germans, if he wants. The second order was that every Jew who wanted to become a Soviet citizen had to go to the police and to take a Soviet passport. Then the Jews from Poland didn't know what to do. On one hand they have to be Soviet citizens and the other side they have to be Germans. They came to us on the newspaper to ask questions what to do, but we didn't know what to tell them. You could tell them if they wanted to be Soviet citizens to go try to get a Soviet passport. If they wanted to go back to the other part of Poland, to go back.

Then a month later they arrested everybody who signed that they wanted to go back; and the Jewish people wanted to go back to the Germans only because they didn't know the truth about the Germans. They thought it was a lie, that they will not kill them. There was no information in Soviet Poland.

So they arrested fifty or sixty thousand Jewish people in Bialystok and sent them to Siberia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you take any part in that?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you tell the committee what part you personally played?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. They would give orders and want everything to be done quickly.

The Soviet police didn't have enough people to make all the arrests, so they called on the civilian Soviet people to help them with the arrests. The newspaper had to give two persons to help, and I was one of them. They gave us guns and we went together with the police to arrest the people and send them to Siberia. It was at night.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is always at night, isn't it?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Everything is at night—4 o'clock at night, 3 or 4 o'clock. In the middle of the night. At dawn.

I saw that the "enemies of the Soviet" were all Jewish people, women and children, and I couldn't stand it. In one home was a young girl, a young woman with two children, and they cried very much, and I couldn't stand it. I began to cry also. The policeman saw that I cried and he said, "What happened to you?" I said, "Something fell in my eye," because I was afraid to say that I have sympathy for these people.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many Jews were deported or liquidated in that transaction?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. In the city there were fifty or sixty thousand but in the whole territory of the White Russian Galicia that belonged before to Poland was arrested, I think, about a million Jewish people who were sent to Siberia.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your assignment to Bialystok, did you return to Minsk?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Minsk at the time the war broke out?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you there when the Germans took the city?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you held by the Germans for a time?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. I was held 11 days by the Germans.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was your reaction to the occupation?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. My reaction was this way: The Jewish population, a lot of them, they went to the Red army. The older people who knew the Germans from World War I, they thought that the Germans are not so bad and that they can live better with the Germans than the Soviets. And then the peasants, the Russian peasants, they went with bread and water to the Germans to receive them. Thousands of soldiers and officers of the Red army, they threw away their guns and

they went to the Germans, so this way the Germans went on and marched forward.

Mr. KERSTEN. This was in Minsk that you saw this?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I saw this with my eyes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were captured yourself and you managed to escape later on after a short time?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And then, you were drafted into the Red army; is that correct?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I escaped back because I saw that it was better to be with the Soviets than the Germans. I escaped, after 11 days, when they began to make the gates for the ghetto. We escaped and after 3 weeks we were wandering through the forests of White Russia. We came through the forests of White Russia. We came through the front and we joined the Red army. My legs were swollen so they couldn't take me to the Red army. They put me on a hospital train and they sent me to Middle Asia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After your legs healed then, you were drafted into the Red army and you served with the rank of first lieutenant, is that right?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Weren't you wounded 2 or 3 times in the fighting before Stalingrad?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I was fighting on the approaches to Stalingrad but not in Stalingrad. I was in the middle of the River Don. I was wounded there.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After the war was over, did you return to Moscow?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. In 1945.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Now, upon your return to Moscow in 1945, did you notice while you were in Moscow any acts, any definite acts, of anti-Semitism in Moscow?

Mr. WEINTRAUB. Yes. When I returned from the Red army to Moscow, the anti-Semitism was so strong, so vile, that I couldn't stand it and I thought to myself, "I'll do everything to escape, or I'll commit suicide." I couldn't stand it any more.

For example, I saw with my own eyes, with chalk on the walls in Moscow "Kill the Jewish people and save Russia."

In the lines for bread, when they saw a Jewish girl who was born in Moscow and didn't understand a word of Yiddish and she would say she is a Russian, but she has a typical Jewish face and everybody called her a "dirty Jew," and she cried.

Mr. MCTIGUE. They called her a dirty Jew.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. It was worse than "dirty." It is a condition of the hair.

Mr. KERSTEN. Lousy?

Mr. WEINTRAUB. Yes. As an officer of the Red army I had 2 medals, 2 decorations. A lot of Jewish people who fought had decorations and the Russian people asked them "How much did you pay for your

decorations?" For example, when a wounded Jew went in the street, they asked "From which train did you fall?"

The Jewish people fought well and they wanted to be good citizens, but they didn't allow them.

Mr. KERSTEN. What was your rank as an officer?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Lieutenant. Two stars.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you leave Moscow?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. At the end of 1945.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Where did you go?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I went to Czernowitz. In Russia nobody can go from one town to another town freely. It is not like here in the United States where you can go from here to Washington. There you need something. But, as a writer and a member of the Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow—the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow—and as a worker for the paper, I got permission to go to Czernowitz. There were there a lot of Jewish people who came back from the German camps and they wanted me to write a series of articles about these people.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And you heard from these people about the pogroms in other places?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes. I want to tell also about the pogroms in Czernowitz, what I saw with my eyes.

They began to arrest the Jewish people because they had no Soviet passports and make them work like slaves in the coal mines. As an officer of the Red army and a Jewish writer, I intervened to have them released. I explained that they were innocent, that they came from the German camps and they couldn't have Soviet passports, that you have to give them Soviet passports and then send them to work. But they didn't want to listen to me. They said they are not working people, they are enemies.

Then they told me, "Listen, you don't put your nose in this case, because we have orders to send these people there, they are our enemies. They have been with the Germans and they are not good for the people. By looking at your decorations we can tell that you are an officer in the army, but we'll send you to Siberia."

Then I saw with my own eyes, when workers come to work on the streetcar. They would say, "All the Jewish people have to go out because the streetcar is only for the Russians," so the Jewish people would have to get off.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After having witnessed the pogroms and the incidents of anti-Semitism that you have described here today, Mr. Weinrauch, when was it that you finally left the Soviet Union?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I finally left the Soviet Union in 1946.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. 1948.

Mr. MCTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Bonin?

Mr. BONIN. No questions, at this time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions, at this time.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Weinrauch, you stated that you were in Minsk when the Germans came.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And that the people of Byelorussia welcomed the Germans and those that were in the Red army gave up their guns and ammunition.

Now, do you feel that the reason for that was because the people of Byelorussia had a nationalistic spirit and they were given assurances by the Germans that they would have an opportunity for self-determination in the reestablishment of their own nation?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Maybe a little of this is true, but mostly it is because they were slaves and they thought the Germans will liberate them.

When I escaped from Minsk, back to the Russians, I asked them, "Why did you go with water and bread to the Germans? You are Russians. You sell your fatherland to the Germans."

They told me, "Listen, we paid taxes for Stalin. Now we will pay other taxes, but maybe it will liberate us from the Kolkhoz." Nobody liked the Kolkhoz.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In your travels throughout the U. S. S. R. did you become conscious of a nationalistic spirit among these nations, such as the Byelorussians, the Ukrainians, the Azerbaidjanis, or the Georgians? Have you traveled throughout the U. S. S. R. extensively enough to form such an opinion?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I was a writer. In Russia nobody can travel without permission, but as a writer I have some privileges. To send you from Moscow to Biro-Bidjan, it is 12,000 miles.

I was in a lot of places and I saw a lot of people and a lot of nations and I learned something about them. I can say that 99 percent of all the nations want to be free from the Soviet regime. The Georgians want to have their Georgian Republican, the Byelorussians want their own republic, the Ukrainians want a Ukrainian Republic. The Russian language is the dominant language, and they don't have anything.

Mr. FEIGHAN. From what you have studied in your experience, do you not believe that there is no distinction between Czarist imperialism and Communist imperialism? They are the same.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes; but I think now is worse. Nobody liked the czar. It was a bloody organization, the Czar's. Under the Soviet, you can't be a Jew, you can't believe in your religion, in your God, you can't believe in your tradition. You can't be a human being, even. You can't even think. You are afraid not only to talk to people, you are afraid to think, even, so this is worse.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mean that Russian communistic imperialism is more brutal or inhumane?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. More brutal than the Czar. There are people with hearts of stone, and if you have pity you are a sissy, you are not a Communist, you are not a Bolshevik, you are not a man. They have to be strong.

But I couldn't do anything like that. I have sentiment.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you not feel that the imperialism under the Russian czars is the same in its objective as the Communist Russian im-

perialism which has this great new Red colonial empire of over 800 million people?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I think the Russian influence continued from the czars. This, I think.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Weinrauch.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Weinrauch, you have told us about the surrender of the Soviet troops in Minsk, I believe, when the Germans came in, and they brought bread and water.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. From your experience in the Red army, would you feel that there are still large numbers in the Soviet Army who would like to get away from Communist control?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. You feel that?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Why?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. The Germans made a big mistake. Everybody come to them with water and bread and they took them like good friends. When they began to kill the Jewish population, the Ukrainians were not happy, but when they began to kill the Russian people and the Ukrainians, then the Ukrainians pick up their guns and began really to fight.

If they had not done that, if Hitler had not said, "We'll be the bosses and you will be the slaves," if they did not burn all the Russian villages, the mothers, the fathers, the children, then nobody would have fought them.

Mr. KERSTEN. When the people saw that the Nazis were just as cruel as the Communists were, then they fought, and for this reason, Hitler and the Nazis from their point of view, made a great mistake.

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Now, do you think from your experience as an officer in the Red army, that if the members of the Red army felt that the free world really had sympathy for them and that they would have a humane attitude toward them and that they don't have any ideas of being cruel to the Soviet people, the Russian people, rather, or the non-Russian people, or any of these other nations, do you think that the members of the Red army, if they believed this, that they would want to fight for the Communists and against the free world?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. If we go after them with clothes, and chocolate, and butter, and sugar, they will believe us. They don't have anything. They are hungry. They don't understand what eat means. Believe me, I was in a good position in Russia as a writer or a newspaperman, but I was underfed. Here I have everything. They don't even know what prunes means. They see everything in the newspapers, but in the stores there is nothing. Give them something. You have to show them that you mean well. They will go with America, they will go with France, they will go with everybody. But, not the big commissars. They shouldn't have it.

Mr. KERSTEN. You think that the mass of the people behind the Iron Curtain like or hate the Communist regime?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. They hate it. Yes. Even the youth who was born in the time of Stalin, he hates it. If you will allow me, I would like to tell you something about that.

People say to me, you were raised by the Stalin government and you don't like them. That is significant. The grandfathers and some of the fathers they remember the old times. In the winter time in Russia when they don't work too much, the grandfather tells the children about how it was before. "I had my own home, I had my two horses. In wintertime I took my team of horses and I would go with my horses into the forest and I was free."

Even the children would say, "Isn't it wonderful they had their own trees, their own bread, everything their own."

Even the youth born under the Communists, they like the past when they have everything their own. The Soviets took away from the peasants everything. And, from the people of the towns, they took away everything, also.

Mr. KERSTEN. I would like to ask this one question: From the people who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain, like yourself and others who came from there, if from those men they formed military units in West Europe like a Ukrainian unit, Russian, Azerbaijan, Polish, Czech, or Slovak units, in their own uniforms with the flag of freedom attached to the defense forces of Western Europe, do you think that would have an effect upon the armed forces behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. Yes, I think everybody would fight honestly against the Soviet.

Mr. KERSTEN. What effect would that have upon the Communist control of the armed forces behind the Iron Curtain, do you think?

Mr. WEINRAUCH. I'll tell you. With such a thing we will have a success. Without it we will not have a success.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF BRONISLAW TEICHHOLZ

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. I do.

Mr. KERSTEN. Your name is Bronislaw Teichholz?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. You live here in New York?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Where?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. 230 West 107th Street, apartment 1–J.

Mr. KERSTEN. You were born in Poland?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes. 1904.

Mr. KERSTEN. From 1945 to 1952 you were chairman of the International Committee for Jewish Refugees from Concentration Camps?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. And your headquarters were in Vienna?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes. It was the first place the people came from the Iron Curtain countries.

Mr, KERSTEN. Did you live in and receive your education in Lwow, Poland?

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. You were there when the Soviet forces occupied Lwow in 1939?

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. What were you doing at that time?

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. I was a shipping clerk in a factory.

Mr. KERSTEN. After the Soviet forces occupied Lwow what happened to the Jews who had fled from Germany into East Poland?

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. In 1939, September, the Red army occupied the east side of Poland and the Jewish people from the west side, they went into the Russian zone. They were refugees in East Poland. The Russians came first in 1939. They took everything from the factories. They took every machine and all the property in Lwow. The officers and soldiers took everything without payment. After a week or two there was a special order that they pay.

Eight or nine months after the occupation they gave an order that everyone coming from the west side of Poland can go out. They could go back to their homes from which they came. Approximately 50,000 Jews registered with the commission. The commission was made up of 10 or 12 German officers and Russian officers and the Russian city commander.

Mr. MOTIGUE. It was a joint Nazi-Soviet commission?

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. Yes. It was a brotherhood for nazism and communism at this time. The people, including the Jews, didn't want to stay together with the Russians. They registered to go home to the German occupation zone. When the Germans took over anywhere they gave orders the Jews must work. They didn't kill them, but made them work. The Russians at this time did not give them opportunity to work. The people were refugees and they can work. Especially people who have rich families, they are not allowed to work. The people registered and the Russians told them that those who can get along with what they can carry can go home.

After 6 days, on a Friday, they came with the police, the NKVD, with the members of the Communist Party and with the city police and took all the people from their homes, those who registered to go back into the German zone. They took them in the train, 70 or 80 people in a car. They had permission to take 1 suit, 1 pair of shoes, something small along. The children, whether they were sick, or not sick, whether the wife was pregnant—everybody must go on the trucks this night; and they were taken to Siberia. I don't know how many were killed on the way, but I have heard that many of them never got there, that they were killed on the way. They had no water, they had nothing. The Communists first said the people could go home and then they killed the people. This was the experience we had with the Russian occupation.

Mr. MOTIGUE. Apparently there was a Nazi-Communist conspiracy to deport these Jews.

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOTIGUE. Were you in the room when Mr. Weinrauch testified?

Mr. TRICHHOLZ. Yes, I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you hear his testimony with respect to Bialystok?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. He gave testimony very similar to the testimony you are giving here now. He testified that in that community—and he helped arrest those people—he said approximately 50,000 Jews were deported. Now, you estimated that 50,000 Jews were deported there where you were.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when you were forced to flee the Nazis following the outbreak of war between Russia and Germany?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were subsequently arrested at the Hungarian border; is that right?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. I was in Hungary, and I was in labor camps in the 2 years. In 1943, December, the police took me from my home and sent me to the concentration camp. On April 1945 I was liberated and I went to Vienna. I was on the border of Czechoslovakia and I went to see my relatives who lived in Vienna before the war. I didn't know whether they were alive or not. That was in 1945, in Vienna.

Mr. McTIGUE. In 1945 in Vienna, did you and others originate this committee?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. The Jewish community, the Jewish charity organization, together with our committee; and I was its chairman from 1945 to the 1st of January 1952.

Mr. McTIGUE. The original purpose of this committee, as I understand it, was to help resettle the Jews in their countries of origin from which they had been driven.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. It was a Jewish organization, but there were people who came to us who were not Jews. We enabled them to go home, wherever he wanted to go. This was the purpose of the committee.

Mr. McTIGUE. To help those people get back to their native lands, like Hungary?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. From whence they had been driven by the Germans.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you find later that a great many refugees were coming the other way?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. At the end of September 1945 there came 250 people from the Iron Curtain countries. Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania. They were from every country.

The Austrian Government had nothing and was very poor. They had nothing and the joint committee had only one man, and we were helpless.

I went to the reparation commission of the American military. There was a captain. I remember he was very nice. I told him about the 250 Jewish people who were there 3 days with nothing to eat. He said it was not his job, but he would speak with his boss, and he would tell me in the afternoon what he could do.

I came back in the afternoon. He wanted to know where those people were living. I told him. We went together. He saw the people. In 2 hours, the people got food to eat. He got the meals from the American soldiers' kitchens; not just 1 day but more than 10 weeks,

and every day these refugees who were in Vienna got something to eat.

I never had occasion before to tell this, but what the American military did after this war for the Jewish refugees has not been duplicated in the history of the world.

On Sunday the American soldiers came in the camps and brought with them from the PX where they have to pay their own money for this, chocolate, candies, suits for the children, without payment of money, and they give the children everything what they need. They give it every week. They would have their wife send things and some soldiers sent things without permission and unofficially. This was characteristic of what the Americans do in the world even when they do not have an official commission. They do it from their heart. For a package of cigarettes you could have a suit in Vienna at this time. The soldiers gave not one package, but 10, 20, 30, packages to the refugees, without anything in return. You must realize this was just after the war. It was not in a time like we have now in America.

Mr. McTIGUE. It was about that time that the stream of refugees began to come from the Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In your capacity as chairman, you interviewed these refugees?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. In my time there came 180,000 Jewish people, in these 7 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. One of your jobs was to interview these people.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes; and to see what we could do to help.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you remember the case of Joseph Sandberg?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes. He was living in Cracow. He came to my office for help. He said he had no clothes and no money. I asked him to sit down. He told me he was a carpenter. I asked him why he was going out of Poland. A carpenter is not a big businessman. He said, "Yes, but you don't know how it is living in Poland, now. My son is going to the school. He is 13 years old. He went to the police, he denounced me, that I do not agree with the regime. He told the police, they came to my house and they put me in jail. I was a week in jail. After that I went home with a policeman, and I got away and came to Vienna."

This is not the only example. In the schools, he told me, they tell the children you must be a good citizen, you must tell everything you hear in the home. You must come to the teacher and tell it, or to the police.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you remember an incident while you were chairman of this committee, of a transport, a trainload, of Rumanian Jews being let out of Rumania, to the free world?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes. They did have some thought that perhaps Israel might become Communist. Then they gave permission that the people could go. After they saw the people in Israel don't like the Russians, they give orders at the border that when the Jews came to the border they must be sent back to their native city.

The people came from Hungary. They used to come with American money. They get a few million dollars a year from America. They sent their people to Vienna, but through Czechoslovakia. The police

at the border, they took everything away from the refugees. Sometimes the people had money in their shoes. At this time, the Communist Fischl, of the Czech Government, gave orders that the Jewish refugees must leave behind everything they own.

Mr. McTIGUE. The committee may recall that we heard in Munich the testimony of Fischl's daughter, this official who is referred to.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. On the border, the Russian headquarters gave orders not be let the people go to the West.

Mr. McTIGUE. This train, then, of 2,000 Jews stopped at the border?

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes. We knew of this and we wanted to help the people. The people on the train were at the border. They took them off the train and they kept them there, with little children and everything else. The Austrian Government wanted to intervene but the Russians said, "No, this is an order from Moscow and they must go back."

We only can get for the people food. We sent money. The Russians bought the food and they give the food for these people who was at the border. They were there 3 days and sickness was breaking out, and we wanted to help the people. There was typhus.

Some older people and little children were dead from typhus. A few people were killed at the Russian border because they wanted to go on the bridge. The soldiers killed a few people. More than 20 people were killed by the Russian soldiers at the border. The Russians were occupying. The Austrian people gave permission, and the Jewish organization said they would take care of the pople, but the Russians wouldn't let the people go into Austria. They killed the people. After Allied intervention and after, maybe, they had spoken with Moscow and with others, we were allowed to take the people into Vienna, but the American Joint Committee must give official letter to the Russians that he will pay for the bridge where the people did something to it, they must pay for the bridge and must pay for the train and pay for all the expenses—was a lot of money, at this time, and we paid everything so the people could get through.

Mr. McTIGUE. It was just a case of blackmail. They held up the train at the border and people died.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Yes. This was the double face from this Government. You must understand that. On one side they have officials who give permission to go out, but the 2,000 people can't get out at the border. They do not let the people go; they killed the people.

The Russians wouldn't let them go. This was a very, very bad surprise for the people. They could see how the Russians handled their problem, and the Jewish problem, too.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Feighan.

Mr. FEIGHAN. No questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Dodd.

Mr. DODD. I have no questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you, Mr. Teichholz.

You have given a very interesting and important statement, here.

Mr. TEICHHOLZ. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF DR. FREDERIC GOROG

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. GOROG. I do.

Mr. KERSTEN. Have a chair.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your name is Dr. Frederic Gorog?

Dr. GOROG. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are now living at 9850 63d Drive, Forest Hills, Long Island?

Dr. GOROG. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were formerly of Budapest?

Dr. GOROG. Yes, that's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are presently a United States citizen?

Dr. GOROG. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you leave Hungary?

Dr. GOROG. I left Hungary in 1948.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What was your profession in Hungary?

Dr. GOROG. I was a lawyer and counsel to a bank.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you president of the Hungarian branch of the American Joint Distribution Committee?

Dr. GOROG. Yes, I was president of the American Joint Distribution Committee in Hungary.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is it true that in 1950 you were elected president of the United Hungarian Jews of America?

Dr. GOROG. Yes, I was.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is it true that in 1952 you were elected president of the World Federation of Hungarian Jews?

Dr. GOROG. Yes. I am the president of that organization.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you tell us the years that you spent in Hungary? Would you identify the years that you spent in Hungary as president or as chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee?

Dr. GOROG. Yes. From February 1945 until February 1948 I directed the activities of the American Joint Distribution Committee in Hungary. It is a very long story. To make it short, we helped 180,000 people, in this period of my activities, with over $30 million. In fact, I think this was the most wonderful job done by a private agency. The greatest job in a single country. I think we did a very fine job with the help of the American people who sent us the money for this really lifesaving work.

Mr. MCTIGUE. $30 million is a lot of money, Doctor.

Did the Communists make any efforts to get control of these funds?

Dr. GOROG. At that time in Hungary there was a so-called coalition government and, unfortunately, the chief of the ministry which was concerned with the American Joint Distribution Committee activities was a member of the Communist Party. So, from the beginning, we always struggled and fought with the Communist ministry in our effort to do a decent social job without any political implications.

Mr. KERSTEN. What year was this you are speaking of, Doctor?

Dr. GOROG. From 1945 to 1948.

My orders and my instructions were to distribute American help among the needy Jewish population, without any political discrimination, and so I did.

Now, the Hungarian Government issued a decree requiring a kind of supervision over foreign relief organizations in general, and in particular and mainly our American Joint Distribution Committee, which alone as I mentioned, brought more money and more help in kind than the other organizations all together.

This decree said that the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Public Welfare were entitled to a kind of supervision over us. The Communist member of the Government pressed me to give a part of this joint committee money to the Ministry of Public Welfare for distribution. I refused this request, according to my instructions and according to my principles, because it was not the right thing to do. Later, I made some recommendations to Dr. Joseph Schwartz who was the Joint Distribution Committee's director for the activities in Europe, and I got permission to distribute 5 percent of the American help, on a nonsectarian basis; that is, not only among the needy Jewish population, but on a non-Jewish and nonsectarian basis.

Now, the Ministry of Welfare made every effort and took every step to press me to give them this 5 percent for distribution. I refused. Then they put their confidential men and spies in our organization and I was under constant pressure to give something to some so-called social institutions which were in reality organizations of the Communist Party. Mainly, I was pressed to give some money to a Communist youth organization and a Communist women's organization.

I think in this light, I was a bit rigid against them, so in the course of time, my position became untenable and then I resigned in 1948.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you accused at any time of giving $1 million to finance the so-called opposition party?

Dr. GOROG. In the summer of 1947 there was an election in Hungary. The Communist Party's arch foe in this election was the Social Democratic Party. And, now, for purely political election purposes, the head of the Communist Party in Hungary, Matyas Rakosi, announced publicly that the American Joint Distribution Committee gave $1 million for the election to the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic Party denied this and then Rakosi promised that he would prove that. On his orders, there were searches in my office, and at the same time in my home. I was detained during that time. Some of my aides were detained for 2 days. They searched—naturally, in vain—for an alleged receipt for over $1 million allegedly given by us to the Social Democratic Party.

Now, after the election and after the Social Democratic Party merged with the Communist Party, the whole thing was dropped. It was quite evident that the whole thing was a libelous accusation, but the relation between the Communist member of the Government and the Joint Distribution Committee in Budapest became even worse.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was there a period in Hungary when there was an arresting of Jews? Was there a period while you were there when a great many Jews were arrested?

Dr. Goroo. Yes, but not Hungarian Jews. There was, in 1946, a big movement from Rumania. At the time they were afraid of the political situation and were fleeing in great numbers. This was a big movement which was, from the point of view of the Rumanian and Hungarian law, an illegal movement; but there were 27,000 Rumanian Jews involved. We in the Joint Distribution Committee felt ourselves obligated to help these people. We had several conflicts with the Hungarian authorities because the Hungarian authorities said that they had instructions from the Communist members of the Rumanian Government not to let these Rumanian Jews out of the country and through Hungary. The Hungarian ministry gave an order to the border police not to let them through the frontier, and even to use force. It so happened that there were some fatal casualties on the frontier. I remember four Rumanian Jews were shot dead on the frontier.

So, the American Joint Distribution Committee—I, myself—made very strong representations to the Hungarian authorities. But we could not prevail upon Mr. Rajk, who was Minister of the Interior and who signed the order to detain and arrest these poor Rumanian Jews.

I could not achieve anything with Mr. Rajk. I went to the Jewish leader of the Communist Party and there I was bluntly told——

Mr. McTigue. Who was that, Doctor?

Dr. Goroo. It was Michael Farkas, who is today, also, I think, Minister of Defense; but he was the No. 2 man in the Communist Party after Matyas Rakosi at that time.

I have every reason to believe that his attitude was in accordance with that of the others. I appealed to him as a Jew, and he told me very bluntly, "We here are not Jews, we are Communists," so it was a very hard and inhuman thing, what happened to these people, until we succeeded in bringing them through Hungary to the allied camps partly in Austria and partly in Germany.

Mr. McTigue. During these years, Communist opposition to the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish fund, I suppose, was growing, and growing?

Dr. Goroo. Yes.

Mr. McTigue. There finally came a time when on the orders of the Communists in Hungary, the committee was dissolved?

Dr. Goroo. Not in my time. I resigned in 1948. We, in the Joint Distribution Committee, had the idea that perhaps an American citizen in Hungary would do better and would be perhaps in not such a dangerous and strained position as I, who was at that time a Hungarian citizen. I resigned. My successor was Mr. Jacobson, an American citizen, but he had no more luck than myself. As you perhaps know, he was jailed; and afterward the organization's work in Russia was stopped by the Communist in 1950 or 1951. I know this only from hearsay, as I was already here.

Mr. Kersten. Doctor, your statement has been excellent, and you have given us a lot of valuable information.

We thank you for appearing here before us.

TESTIMONY OF DR. ISAAC GLICKMAN

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GLICKMAN. I do.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you identify yourself, please?

Mr. GLICKMAN. My name is Isaac Glickman, born in Rumania of the Jewish faith. I left Rumania at the end of 1947.

Mr. MCTIGUE. At the end of 1947 you left Rumania?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are living here in New York, now?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. 547 West 157th Street, New York City.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are a lawyer by profession?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes, and doctor of economics.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And you are a member of the executive committee of the Federation of the Jewish Communities of Rumania, is that correct, Doctor?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That's correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And you were chairman of the committee of medical and dental professions in the Jewish Community of Rumania?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That's correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Now, we have said "Jewish Community" here, from time to time. I think probably, Mr. Chairman, we ought to clarify the use of Jewish Community for the record.

As I understand it—and correct me on this if I am wrong—it is not in the sense of a community as we know it here in the United States, but rather it is a body with its own lawmaking privileges, its own legislature.

Mr. GLICKMAN. It is controlled by the state, too.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When you talk about the Rumanian Jewish Community, you talk about a state within a state, don't you?

Mr. GLICKMAN. In some cases the state has something to do with it. However, we rule ourselves with our laws and nobody from the Government mixes in our business.

Mr. KERSTEN. In such a situation you have more autonomy.

Mr. GLICKMAN. Oh, yes, more so than now in Rumania.

Mr. KERSTEN. More of an autonomy in regulating your own activities?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you in a Nazi concentration camp?

Mr. GLICKMAN. One year. 1943–44.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Because you were Jewish?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After you were liberated, did you return to Bucharest?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How many Jews were there, approximately, in Rumania at the time of the liberation of Rumania?

Mr. GLICKMAN. 425,000.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Now, after the Red army entered Rumania, and the Communists took over control, what was the situation with the Jews, then?

Mr. GLICKMAN. At the time I was appointed to the Federation of Rumanian Jews, to take care of the repatriation of the Jews from the concentration camps, and especially the Rumanian people who were in various places in Russian territory which had been held by the Germans.

The Jewish community appointed me to go and see what we could do to bring back the Jewish people to Rumania. I went to those concentration camps. I found that the Russians took those Jews as prisoners of war and sent them to Siberia. I protested at this, but the Russian soldiers confined the Jews in camps and sent them to Siberia, about three or four thousand of them, as prisoners of war, before anything could be done. I went back to Bucharest and asked the Government—it was a Rumanian democratic regime, at that time, in the first months of 1945—and I asked for protection for the Jews. No more were sent to Siberia, but we were never able to bring back the Jews already sent to Siberia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You say you were sent to bring back these Jews from the Nazi concentration camps, but apparently the Communists got there first and sent these Jews on to Siberia.

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. From a Nazi concentration camp?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. This was the first shock that I received when I saw this Communist kind of liberation.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did there come a time when you asked that the Nazi war criminals be punished? Did you demand their punishment?

Mr. GLICKMAN. We demanded that several times.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What kind of answer did you get?

Mr. GLICKMAN. The Rumanian Communist regime, the leaders—one was the Minister of Justice; several times when I went to him, and I was several times in his office, asking for punishment of the criminals of war—told me we must first finish the war. After this, he never risked the chance of punishing those people and the reason is very simple. All the leaders of the Nazis went over to the Communists and that stopped all the moves to punish them. Maybe there was in Rumania a thousand Communists at first and they opened the doors to all those who came in, and those who came in were the Nazis. The Communists ignored our demands for punishing those people. A lot of things like that were happening in Rumania because of the Communists who were in the Government.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is that the same kind of a situation that existed with reference to Anna Pauker's secretary?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Surely. Mr. Vijoli was the secretary to Anna Pauker. At the time of the Nazi regime he was a member of the Nazi Party.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is there an official religious inspector in Rumania, in the Jewish Community?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. I would like to give you a picture of what happened in 1944 at the time when the war was still going on in Germany. When the Russians came into Rumania it was in September 1944. Among the Russians who came to Rumania, three were Jews who were officers in the Russian Army. One asked me to help him

got civilian clothing and at the same time he urged me to advise the Jews to flee the country. This was a Russian Jew who told me that. To him and several of his people I gave civilian clothes and he fled across the border the same as the other Jews were doing.

At the same time I found Polish Jews who refused to go back to Poland, too.

The Russian officers of the Jewish faith who told us to leave the country said it was very dangerous to remain. I didn't understand it. These were people who were supposed to have liberated us from the Nazis. These people were advising us to escape.

It was not the rich people of the Jews but the poor people who started to leave the country in the beginning of 1946.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when the Communists appointed a chief religious inspector in Rumania who had the power to appoint rabbis?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. This was in 1945 after Vishinsky was in Rumania and imposed upon the people his government. He appointed one of the members of the Nazi Iron Guard, Father Burducea, a defrocked orthodox priest, as Minister of Religion. He appointed as chief rabbi a Jew who never was a rabbi, or who never had anything to do with the religious life.

Mr. KERSTEN. Who appointed Burducea?

Mr. GLICKMAN. The Rumanian Government.

Mr. KERSTEN. He was Minister of Religion in the Government.

Mr. GLICKMAN. He was then, yes. He appointed a man as inspector of religion and he went around, town by town, and appointed people he knew to rule the Jewish synagogues. These people had never previously been in Rumanian Jewish life. Later they made up the so-called democratic committee which was really Communist.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is this how the present chief rabbi of Rumania was appointed?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That's right. Before the war he wasn't even a rabbi. After the war and at the time of the war, his father was a rabbi and appointed him himself as rabbi to a small synagogue in Rumania. He declared before, at the time of the Nazis, that he was a Communist.

When the Communists came to power he was appointed chief rabbi.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when the Communists set up a so-called democratic committee of Jews?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes, it was in 1945.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the object of that?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That's how the Communists operated. That was their method. They would select somebody and give him a prominent public job, and in Jewish community affairs he followed the Communist Party line.

In 1945 our Federation of Rumanian Jews was a single representative body of Rumanian Jews. About 60 percent of the Rumanian Jews were Zionists. The Zionists were the political party * * * I mean the Jewish party.

First the people from that so-called democratic committee approached us in the federation and asked us to give them help in the elections. Naturally, we refused. We told them we were not political,

that we worked on the problems of education in religious life, and not in political ways.

In retaliation against our attitude, this so-called democratic committee took over our schools. That took away a large part of the federations' income. Some of the schools had been built with the help of the Joint Distribution Committee and some by Rumanian Jews. After that, with the support of the Communist government, they expropriated the Jewish cemeteries from the federation, which resulted in the second large loss of federation income. Finally, we found we couldn't even pay the salaries of the people who remained with us and closed the federation. The federation had been there for 35 years. Even under the Nazis.

This "democratic" committee—which I say is democratic only in name—after it finished with us, then went after the Jewish Party, and forced the abolition of that party. It was an important party. It elected two congressmen in Rumania when it was very hard to do so.

In 1948 when they attacked the Zionists, it was really anti-Semitic. As Jews, we pray for Zion every day. Not in a national way, but in our religious ways. Naturally we had some feeling of nationalism for Israel and this created an excuse for this so-called democratic committee to attack us. Perhaps you can understand the fear the Jewish people had as they went out on the street. Some Communist would say, "This is a Zionist," and the accused person immediately was arrested.

Families did not know where their loved ones were sent. They allow nobody to see an arrested person; no judges, no lawyer. When once a person was pointed out as a Zionist there was no recourse. We could never even receive a letter. People in Rumania are afraid to send letters.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you say you left Rumania?

Mr. GLICKMAN. In December 1947. When I saw it was going to be impossible to live there, I thought it was time to leave.

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand, Doctor, that you have a prepared statement, which is a general view of the anti-Semitic situation.

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. I will give it to you.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long is it?

Mr. GLICKMAN. It is 5½ pages.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is this something of a summary of what you have already stated?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes, it has figures and facts on what happened in Rumania and on the destruction of the Jewish community there.

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you mark that please, Mr. Reporter.

New York, September 22, exhibit 2 may be accepted, subject to the consideration of the committee for final acceptance into the files as an exhibit.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Glickman, after the Russians came into Rumania, along with the army, they transplanted Russian Communists from either Moscow or elsewhere?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In your opinion, Dr. Glickman, do you consider the treatment accorded the Jews after the coming of the Russian Com-

munists was worse than what they suffered under the Rumanian Government under the Nazis?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes; it was worse, especially in Rumania.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Glickman, for your testimony.

Mr. BONIN. Doctor, have you given quite a bit of publicity to your experiences in America to people in the United States?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. I have talked for the Voice of America. I received a letter from Rumania in June, signed by 37 rabbis, asking me to stop the propaganda against the Communists of Rumania, that the people live very good there and there is no need to make propaganda against the Rumanian regime. Naturally I was shocked. With a population of 250,000 Jews in Rumania, there are only 37 rabbis. This means there are very few rabbis left, that religious life there has dwindled seriously.

Mr. BONIN. Did the letter state these were all the rabbis in Rumania?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes.

Mr. BONIN. For a population of how many?

Mr. GLICKMAN. For 250,000 Jews in Rumania; and of these rabbis I found one who was arrested several times, and another one who is under arrest now.

Naturally I answered this letter through the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe, saying that these rabbis explained the real situation, that the synagogues were closed, that the 30 Jewish newspapers were closed because now they only have 1.

The Jewish people listen to this radio and they feel a little better when they hear our opinion here, about the Communists in Rumania.

Mr. BONIN. Doctor, it is the ordinary practice in the Jewish faith to have all rabbis qualified in theological schools; is that correct?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That is right.

Mr. BONIN. And most of them are highly educated and very intellectual?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That is right.

Mr. BONIN. But apparently in Rumania it would seem to indicate that they are not even qualified to be rabbis, is that right?

Mr. GLICKMAN. That is right. We had 6 theological schools for rabbis and they are all closed.

Mr. BONIN. And the schools are all closed?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Some schools were taken over by the state; some were closed.

Mr. BONIN. And the synagogues?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Some synagogues are open.

Mr. BONIN. Of course, they are used for show purposes.

Mr. GLICKMAN. That is right. They would ask the rabbis to speak about political things in the synagogues.

In Rumania, the people work 6 days a week, except Sundays. The synagogue is open only on Saturday. If a Jew fails to go to work on Saturday he is punished. Naturally, the synagogue is closed when people do not come to pray.

Mr. BONIN. That is because the Jewish Sabbath comes on Saturday?

Mr. GLICKMAN. And the people work 6 days a week and this makes it impossible to go to the synagogue.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Glickman, I am sure you agree with me that the great and stalwart people of Rumania look forward to and will eventually regain their national independence.

Mr. GLICKMAN. I am sure of this.

Mr. FEIGHAN. On August 23, 1944, that is the accepted date when the Fascists were defeated and the Russian Communists came in——

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, in view of the fact that the regime under the Russian Communists in Rumania is full of terror, inhumanity, and brutality, does it not seem strange to you that anybody would have the temerity to commemorate an occasion when this Rumanian nation of Christian and good Jewish people, orthodox and unorthodox, changed from a situation of being extremely bad to one which is even worse under Russian communism?

Mr. GLICKMAN. Yes. The 23d of August was a holiday at the beginning. It was a holiday for us in 1944, but not since then.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I know, unfortunately, August 23 is a very significant day in world history. As you know, that was the date, in 1939, of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which really started World War II.

Mr. GLICKMAN. I would like to tell you something. My father died in September 1944. This means a month after Russia came in. He was 93 years old. That was the third time he saw the Russians. When they came to Rumania in 1877, in 1916, and in 1944. He told me—he was in the first war and he knew the Russians—we must do something to escape from the Russians.

Mr. FEIGHAN. He understood the tyranny of the Russians?

Mr. GLICKMAN. The first time, in 1877, he had experience with these people; and he told me, when they started to talk about communism, he said maybe the ideology is different but the people are the same. The Russians tried three times to occupy Rumania and they will try again.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Dr. Glickman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Doctor, you have given us an excellent statement and we thank you for appearing before our committee. Your testimony will be a valuable contribution to help us with our findings. Thank you, Doctor.

Mr. GLICKMAN. Thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. The hearings will adjourn at this time until 9:30 in the courtroom tomorrow morning.)

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p. m., the committee adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 p. m., Thursday, September 23, 1954.)

TREATMENT OF JEWS BY THE SOVIET

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AND THE
FORCED INCORPORATION OF THE BALTIC STATES INTO U. S. S. R.,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in room 2804, Federal Building, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. Charles J. Kersten (chairman) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Kersten, Bonin, Machrowicz, Feighan, and Dodd.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. KERSTEN. The hearings will come to order.

Mr. Jacob Zukerman, please. And I understand, Mr. Kirschenbaum, you wish to sit with him.

Mr. KIRSCHENBAUM. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. You do solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JACOB T. ZUKERMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY WALTER L. KIRSCHENBAUM

Mr. KERSTEN. You are appearing here for Mr. Adolph Held, national chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee; is that correct?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Held had intended to appear here today but due to the death of his wife earlier this week he is not here; is that correct?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. I want to state on the record formally that on behalf of the committee we wish to extend condolences to Mr. Held, national chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, and our deep sympathy.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. I am sure he will be thankful to you for that.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are vice chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee and a resident of New York City?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Zukerman is prepared to give the statement Mr. Held would have given had his wife not died. May I suggest Mr. Zukerman be permitted to proceed with the formal statement?

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, he may be permitted.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you please proceed.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Gentlemen of this distinguished body, the Jewish Labor Committee represents more than some half million Jewish workers in the AFL and CIO. Included in this figure are the members of the Workmen's Circle, of which I am national president.

The Jewish labor movement has consistently recognized the dangers and evils inherent in the Communist movement generally and the Soviet Union in particular. The organizations and leaders affiliated with the Jewish Labor Committee did not have to wait for a Hitler-Stalin pact for evidence of Soviet imperialism and subjugation of other countries, for a war in Korea or Indochina, to realize that Soviet Russia posed a threat militarily, morally, and politically to the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

In the period between 1920 and 1930 the Communists were driven from a number of Jewish labor organizations in this country—particularly from the Workmen's Circle. During the same period the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union began a wholesale sweep-out of Communist domination within its own ranks and, through the United Hebrew Trades, aided other Jewish trade unions in ridding their ranks of Communist leadership where it existed.

The Jewish Daily Forward, the world's largest Yiddish daily, was the first to use its pages to expose Communist attempts to infiltrate Jewish community life in America, and did so effectively.

The Jewish labor movement's fight against communism predates the rise of the Bolshevik Party in Russia. Many of the leaders of the Jewish labor movement in this country were, as young men and women, active in Eastern Europe combating Bolshevik attempts to corrupt the democratic ideologies which were then clandestinely being advocated in Czarist-controlled nations.

When these young men and women came to this country and helped form the Jewish labor movement they brought with them a democratic zeal and a contempt for Bolshevik totalitarianism. It was with this understanding of what bolshevism really was, really meant, that the leadership of the Jewish labor movement was able to successfully repel every attempt by the Communists to infiltrate and dominate American Jewish life in general and the Jewish labor movement in particular. While the Jewish labor movement fought against sweatshop conditions in this country, they also waged a political and propaganda warfare against the political sweatshop ideologies of the Soviet Union and the latter's collaborationists in this country.

The Jewish labor movement has always maintained, and maintains today under dangerous conditions, contacts behind the Iron Curtain and its periphery.

I have here, gentlemen, a few documents. These are actually letters written from behind the Iron Curtain. It would be very difficult to understand them. They are letters written in code by representatives of the Jewish labor movement behind the Iron Curtain, written in such a way that even I do not understand the complete nature of this material; but there are experts within our organization who know what this means, and in this way, among other ways, we are able to determine just what is happening behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think all the members of this committee are familiar with the great danger of communicating with the free world from behind the Iron Curtain, and I recall—and you may recall, too, Messrs. Machrowicz, Bonin, and Feighan—the letters that the Voice of America received from behind the Iron Curtain, and they were similarly written in code, just as you say these are, because of the great difficulty of communication and the great danger to the people. That is entirely understandable.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are able to maintain this very effective contact with the Iron Curtain countries; are you not?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Yes, we are.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And, as a consequence, you get the latest news, or the latest information on what is happening behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Yes; that is right. We believe we have up-to-date information. Some of these letters are dated as recently as a few weeks ago. I have some of those with me now.

It is quite obvious, gentlemen, that it wasn't necessary for us, for example, to have Prague trials or Moscow doctors' trials to amplify and confirm for us that the Soviet Union and its satellites were engaged in wholesale liquidation of Jewish communities in areas under its domination.

Immediately after the war, when it was still possible for us to gain admission to Poland, our Jewish Labor Committee representatives got a clear picture of how Soviet authorities had begun, before and during the Second World War, a systematic destruction of Jewish cultural and spiritual life.

From eyewitnesses we received not only a picture within Poland but of the Soviet Union itelf. Since then, our reports have tragically confirmed the fact that the Kremlin, while it piously prates of peaceful coexistence between itself and other nations, has, in effect, declared a war of destruction against the remaining vestiges of the Jewish communities under their geographical domination.

The Jewish Labor Committee has assiduously gathered material and data on the activities and role of the Communist movement both in this country and abroad. This is what we have found:

1. In 1939 and the beginning of 1940, a million Jews, war refugees from Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, and Latvia escaped to Russia. As soon as it became physically possible for them to do so after the war, half a million of these Jewish refugees fled from the geographical boundaries of the Soviet Union and, wherever feasible, from satellite countries as well.

The Jewish labor movement, aided and abetted by the rest of the American labor movement, helped financially and morally to nourish many of these refugees until they were able to sustain themselves.

Why did they flee the Soviet Union?

It is important to underscore their reasons: In Russia they suffered spiritual oppression, material want, physical brutality. Thousands upon thousands of Jews fled out of the path that would most certainly lead to Hitler's concentration camps only to find themselves in the slave labor camps of the Soviet Union.

These half million Jews who fled from Soviet terror camps are our most eloquent witnesses that Russia is the destroyer of the democratic spirit.

But there are still a half million Jews who are unaccounted for. We have made every effort to learn their fate. The Jewish Labor Committee utilized every avenue of communication to determine just how it could be that a half million Jews could vanish without a trace. We made official representations to the Soviet Government. Our requests were, of course, met with blank silence. Why were there no replies? What has happened to these one-half million Jews? Where are they? These are the questions the Jewish labor movement has been asking and we shall not rest until we get the answer.

2. We have investigated and established that at the end of the Second World War, having embarked on their full-fledged moral and spiritual annihilation of the Jews, the Soviet Union removed Jews from public and government posts. All organizations even remotely connected with Jewish affairs were dissolved. The Jewish press does not exist. Jewish schools are no longer open. And some 200 Jewish writers, scientists, and scholars, to the very last one, have disappeared without a trace.

Once again we made attempts to determine what happened to these Jewish writers. Why was it not possible to see their works displayed throughout the world, as in former years? What has happened to the entire Jewish cultural movement within the Soviet Union? These are the questions we asked officially of the Soviet Government. We named the names. We turned to the free trade-union movement of which we are a part. Their representatives in the United Nations also met rebuff from the Soviet Government.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions through its representatives abroad made similar demands on the Soviet trade-union movement. Again there was stone silence. Where are these Jewish writers? Where have they disappeared to?

Only a few days ago, the Jewish Labor Committee received information—information smuggled out through the channels we still maintain—that a famous Jewish poet died from sufferings and privations in a Soviet concentration camp at Sukhoi-Bezvodnyi, 600 miles beyond Gorki. Itsik Khovek had been a prominent Jewish poet. His whereabouts were unknown until we received this information. Our information came from one who had shared his confinement with Khovek.

3. In 1948 the only Yiddish language newspaper in the Soviet Union, Einikeit, was abolished.

4. Today, in eastern Europe, in Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Hungary, Lithuania, and Russia, itself, the Kremlin is engaged in Operation Mopup and Blot-out—mopping up the last vestiges of Jewish community life and blotting out from worldwide scrutiny the havoc and devastation they are wreaking.

The Jewish minority and with it Jewish culture, are being destroyed because:

(a) The Communists do not tolerate individuality, independence, and creative thinking. Everything must be totally "gleichgeschaltet."

(b) The Jews residing in Russia and her satellites have an interest in how their fellow Jews live in communities outside the Iron Curtain. This interest is met with rebuke by Soviet authorities. These contacts are forbidden because of the fear that such contact might, of itself, reveal the shoddiness of the Soviet fabric.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Speaking of the shoddiness of the Soviet fabric, do you not attribute that to the nationalistic spirit as well as the spirit of desire for survival among not only individuals in communities but in the nations themselves, within the U. S. S. R., as well as the captive satellite nations?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. I would say it is probably the result of fear. When you have expressions that differ either in religion or ideology or in any other way from that of the ruling clique, there is danger to a dictatorship. And that in itself, I think, is one of the most serious criticisms of the dictatorship which exists in Russia today.

The fear of someone who may differ in any way because one difference may lead to the expression of another difference, and that is a very, very serious threat to a dictatorship.

6. Furthermore, gentlemen, we have seen photos, read stories of Jewish religious institutions still remaining open on Jewish high holy days. Our information shows this to be sheer fraud being perpetrated not only on the Jews outside the Soviet orbit, but on the world at large. Communists disguised as rabbis, specially posed models, for propaganda purposes, of pious Jews in prayer shawls, are part of the Soviet attempt to indicate freedom of worship. There is no Jewish religion practiced as such within the Soviet Union or any of its satellites.

7. On March 21, 1951, after years of survey, compilation of the facts, checking and rechecking the statistics, the Jewish Labor Committee presented to the United Nations a detailed dossier on the cultural and spiritual genocide against Jews by the Soviet Union and its satellites. We are presenting that document here for your records.

Here are copies for your committee.

We showed then, what we have always known, and what the world has learned since, that the Soviet Union is continuing the anti-Jewish purges of the czars and of Hitler. We asked then, and repeat the request now before this distinguished body, that our charges be investigated by the United Nations. The claims by the Soviet Union that it has outlawed anti Semitism are specious. It has also outlawed murder practiced by individuals. Both anti-Semitism and murder have been national instruments employed by the Soviet Union.

8. This distinguished body took testimony, we understand, in London from Lucyan Blitt, noted Jewish labor leader and one of the international representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I would just like to tell the witness that we had the privilege in London of hearing this distinguished gentleman, Mr. Blitt, who learned firsthand of the perfidy, duplicity, terror, and brutality of the Russian Communists in their dealings with the innocent Jewish people who were willing and anxious to fight for human freedom.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. I am very glad that you had that opportunity because I might say now, parenthetically, that we had this informa-

tion in this country, through material such as I showed you, long before it was possible, for instance, for a man like Mr. Blitt to have the opportunity to appear and testify before a free body. But yet we had this information from Mr. Blitt—we can say that now, and it is quite apparent—just as we are getting it from other people who we hope someday will be in a position to tell their stories to the rest of the free world.

During that testimony you heard about two prominent Jewish labor leaders from Poland: Henryk Ehrlich and Victor Alter. They had been the sparkplugs of the prodemocratic Jewish labor movement in Poland. In October 1939, they were arrested after the partition of Poland in accordance with the Nazi-Soviet Pact. They were arrested by the Soviet secret police.

In September 1941, when Hitler broke his pact with Stalin, the two men were released from their Moscow prison. Immediately after their release, being Polish, being Jewish, and being labor leaders dedicated in their determination to defeat the Nazis, they issued a call to all Polish citizens to resist the Nazis. They conceived a plan by which a Jewish committee designed to fight Hitler, aid his victims both in and out of Poland and Russia, would be formed. The committee was conceived along purely democratic lines, assuring representation on the committee to Jewish delegates from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and other Nazi-dominated countries. It was to have underground links with those countries then under Nazi domination.

After Ehrlich and Alter set up such a committee, the Communists called Ehrlich and Alter to Moscow allegedly to discuss further details. But instead of being consulted, they were rearrested and shot.

The deceit in this story goes beyond that of the tragic trip to Moscow. The entire American labor movement was aroused by their disappearance. It was not known at first that they had been arrested. The late AFL president, William Green, received assurances from Soviet Ambassador Maxim Litvinoff that he would look into the matter. Litvinoff lied, of course, to William Green. For, as we now know, Ehrlich and Alter had already met their tragic fate at the hands of the Soviet firing squad. On the heels of William Green's request to Litvinoff, the late Wendell Willkie, then a roving ambassador for our Government, made a similar appeal directly to Stalin and received the same assurances.

The leaders of the American Jewish labor movement had consistently and publicly doubted the veracity of the Soviet claims. These two Polish labor leaders met their death because the Kremlin knew that they would not deliver the legitimate anti-Fascist vehicle they had created to the Soviet Union to be used for its own nefarious and totalitarian purposes. Neither would these two Jewish labor leaders deliver the Jewish labor movement in Poland to the Kremlin. We, in the Jewish labor movement, both here and abroad, have never forgotten the Ehrlich-Alter episode.

If there were any who doubted what the Kremlin was capable of doing, it was brought into sharp, though tragic, focus by those events I've just described. And there are others.

9. It is not generally known, and has been lost in the swift currents of moving events, that the state of Israel made application for reparations against both West and East Germany. The West German Government held many conferences with the state of Israel and the representatives of leading Jewish organizations.

Adolph Held, chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, participated as a member of the presidium of the Jewish Conference on Material Claims Against Germany.

Both the state of Israel and the Jewish organizations, as a result of successful negotiations with Bonn, have been able to aid those who have lost materially by Nazi persecution. The East German Government, with its strings pulled by the Kremlin, has thus far rejected the application of the state of Israel. It has rejected the application not only by official refusal to discuss the matter but has, as well, echoed some of the dastardly propaganda attacks made by Hitler against the Jews.

10. Much has been written and spoken about Biro-Bidjan as a refuge for Jews. The Communists raised much money in this country from misinformed Jews and non-Jews alike for this so-called autonomous Jewish state within the Soviet Union.

Today it remains inhabited by Jews all right—not as free men and women—but as deportees from all sections of the Soviet Union and as slave laborers. The Jewish labor movement warned in the late 1920's, when this huge Soviet concentration camp was created, that it was neither autonomous nor was it a Jewish state. Our fears have been confirmed.

11. The record is clear and bold that peaceful coexistence between those who cherish freedom and those who traduce it, as do the Communists, is an impossibility.

Mr. FERGHAN. I would just like to compliment the witness on this very forthright statement about the absolute impossibility of coexistence with Communist slavery—particularly free labor against human slave labor in the Russian Empire.

In our second interim report we state very clearly our position that coexistence is absolutely impossible.

Again, I wish to compliment you, Mr. Zukerman.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Thank you, sir.

The unwillingness of the Communists to give concrete evidence of their sincerity and their failure to provide such evidence when they had the opportunity is, in our opinion, a prerequisite toward understanding their danger to our society more clearly.

The Jewish labor movement in this country has always maintained that communism is a mortal danger for the Jews, who have known oppression and tyranny through the ages. We were not fooled when, during World War II, through their Russian war-relief organization, the Communists attempted to infiltrate American Jewish life. We warned against their machinations then, just as we are cognizant of their new current line masquerading as men of tranquility while harboring designs against our democratic institutions. We are not fooled, and we shall not be silenced by prevalent hysteria, into not sounding the alarm against their attempts to infiltrate and wreck prodemocratic institutions at home, and destroy the free world by

military and political assaults. As a matter of fact, last year, when the Communists in this country announced a program of infiltration of minority groups and other prodemocratic organizations including the American labor movement, we of the Jewish Labor Committee began a series of seminars with leaders of prodemocratic organizations on how to intelligently and effectively cope with the problem.

We did so because we have long believed that fighting the Communists begins in the community. That is why we are concerned with combating racial and religious discrimination and bigotry, and achieving a society in which the labor movement, with its roots firmly planted in the soil of human liberty and freedom, will contribute toward building an America that will be a beacon of hope for all the enslaved of the world.

We feel that, as Jews, with our democratic traditions and heritage springing from the American labor movement, we must nourish the victims of oppression and tyranny wherever they are. And our record is, we can proudly attest, a remarkable one. By maintaining contact with the remnants of surviving Jewish communities we are able to transmit some ray of courage to those who are, somehow, hanging on.

On the continent of Europe, in France, Belgium, and Italy, the Jewish labor movement maintains homes for child victims of Nazi and Soviet persecution. Here, in a democratic atmosphere, we mold these children into fighters against all forms of totalitarianism.

The Soviet Union has, for a moment in history, crushed, annihilated where they could, the Jewish labor movement behind the Iron Curtain. So long as we can still hear life we shall continue to have hope.

In a document, entitled "Communist Anti-Semitism," issued by us in 1953, buttressed by our United Nations appeal document in 1951, and others we have issued through the years, we have sought, as the Jewish labor movement in this country always has sought, to arouse the conscience of the world against totalitarianism. The free peoples of the world shall be the jury. The United Nations must, at once, begin a sweeping investigation not only of the evidence we have given, but into the testimony already presented to this committee and testimony still to be given. The conscience of the free world can no longer tolerate the discovery that while debates raged, while protests were made, more Jews were perishing in the slave labor camps behind the Iron Curtain; more cultural enterprises were being suppressed; more Jews were being banished for seeking contact with other Jewish communities.

The fate of 2½ million Jewish survivors of Hitler's terror, now residing behind the Iron Curtain, awaits the reply of the free world. By our answer they shall test our courage and ability to combat Communist aggression and imperialism.

The Jewish Labor Committee wants to thank this committee and its personnel for permitting us to present, as telescopically as time would permit, a mosaic in a still larger picture of horror as we know it to exist for Jews behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Bonin?

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Zukerman, I wish to compliment you on the splendid statement you have presented to this committee. I have always felt and I will continue to feel that there are a lot of people who

believe that perhaps the Soviet ideology and concept of utopia in the future is based primarily upon their philosophy from a purely theoretical viewpoint. The realities of life, however, clearly demonstrate that it is totalitarian in nature and in concept, as is fascism and nazism. This has been a splendid contribution toward the ultimate objective and purposes of this committee.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have no questions but I join in the sentiments expressed by my colleague.

Mr. DODD. I have no questions. I am grateful for your testimony.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Zukerman, I just wanted to note that you mentioned how the Communists try to give the impression of freedom of religion for the Jewish people.

How true and how brutal that is. We have found also in our hearings that in Hungary where they confiscated all of the Catholic churches and schools, they left seven of them open out of a total of thousands and they had pictures taken of a nun teaching the children and they took those pictures as an indication of freedom of religion in Hungary, they translated them into foreign languages to carry on that false propaganda, but, of course, they did not print any of them in Hungary.

In our hearings in London we got the correspondence between Litvinoff and William Green with reference to the unfortunate brutal killings of Mr. Ehrlich and Alter.

I wish to congratulate you also in your bringing forth the fact that these Russian Communists are trying to lull us into tranquility, as you say. They want to put us to sleep while they make their preparations, eventually, to take over this country and to destroy human freedom and our civilization as it exists. Thank you again.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Zukerman, I think you have made a splendid presentation of your organization's position. As I understand, it is Mr. Held's statement since he is national chairman, and you have done very well in the presentation of Mr. Held's statement.

I would like to ask 1 or 2 short questions: With regard to the vast number of Jews who are unaccounted for, as you say, behind the Iron Curtain, has there been as yet a formal presentation to the United Nations? Is that the one that you have handed us here?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Yes, in 1951. That is a part of the exhibit which I presented to you. That was presented to the United Nations in 1951.

Mr. KERSTEN. And have there been repeated demands for an answer to this, since that time?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. There have been.

Mr. KERSTEN. And there has never been any response, so far as you know?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. None that we know of.

Mr. KERSTEN. In other words, there has been just an incriminating silence on the part of the Communists; is that correct?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. I would call it that.

Mr. KERSTEN. It is somewhat similar, of course, to the demands of the whereabouts of the slain and missing officer corps of the Polish

Army in the Katyn Forest massacre in which Captain Machrowicz participated.

I notice you refer to the question of coexistence with the Communists. I am very happy that your organization has come to the conclusion that our committee has come to, that peaceful coexistence between the free world and the Communist conspiracy is not possible. I congratulate you and your organization for that position. Recently the AFL came out with a similar statement.

Your organization represents Jews in both the AFL and CIO, is that correct?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. That is right. For instance, in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, and through the United Hebrew Trades we represent about 150 smaller unions. In addition there is the Workmen's Circle with about 70,000 members and the Jewish Daily Forward Association and other groups all of which together constitute the Jewish Labor Committee. We represent over a half million Jewish workers and people who are interested in the labor movement in the United States.

Mr. KERSTEN. Who are some of the leaders?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. There is David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers; there is Louis Hollander, of the New York State chairman of the CIO; there is Isadore Nagler, New York State vice president of the American Federation of Labor; there is Hillel Rogoff, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; and Alexander Kahn, general manager of the Forward, and Nathan Chanin, national general secretary of the Workmen's Circle.

They are some of the leading people in the labor movement throughout the United States and Canada. We do have a number of offices in Canada where we have representatives working closely along the same lines, and 17 field offices in the United States operating within the framework of Labor Committees for Human Rights.

Mr. KERSTEN. You spoke in your statement of aiding certain victims of Soviet aggression. How do you help them? Can you tell us that?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. We help them in several ways. It is possible for us to get material aid to some of these people.

It has been possible for us to give these people encouragement at least in knowing that there is a group of people, and an organized facility which is interested in helping them get out from behind the Iron Curtain. There has been some help given along those lines. I would hate to have to be more specific at this time.

Mr. KERSTEN. We wouldn't want you to be and we can understand why.

From the information that you do get from behind the Iron Curtain, is there any indication that there still exists a Jewish labor movement behind the Iron Curtain, even though dormant?

Mr. ZUKERMAN. It is very difficult to say that anything of a free nature can exist in a dictatorship but we do know there are people there who, if the opportunity arose, would be able to provide leadership in the fight for freedom.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Zukerman, since you are in the labor movement, I would like to just present a question with reference to the advisability

of cutting off all trade relations between the free world—at least to the United States—and the Russian Communist imperialists. Now, for these reasons: First, if we are trading with them, we are competing as a nation engaged in free labor with labor produced by people who are in slavery.

Now, we hear some people say, "Well, it is all right to trade if you just deal in so-called nonstrategic materials."

Well, as an example of that, I would say wheat, corn, oats, or food. Now, to me that is even a strategic material. I think even a can of beans is a strategic material because first by our giving them or selling them food, or so-called nonstrategic material, it enables them to deploy their workers who would be on the farms producing foods, to put them into the factories in which they are manufacturing implements of war, which they eventually expect to use, if necessary, to conquer the world.

Another reason, they pay in gold for many of their materials and they obtain that gold from the slave-labor camps such as Agadan and other slave-labor mining camps.

In view of that, do you believe it would be advisable for the free world to stop dealing with the master criminal conspirators, these Russian Communists, colonial imperialists?

Mr. ZUCKERMAN. You put me in a position where I have to give you a personal opinion and I am no expert as an individual. I cannot speak for the entire labor movement on that question because, frankly, I know of no unanimous feeling about that; nor of any that has been made along those lines. All I can do is give my opinion as an individual and I would much prefer not to do that since I am here purely as a representative of my organization. You will forgive me if I don't express that opinion.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Very well, thank you.

That is all.

Mr. KERSTEN. Would you mark both of these, Mr. Reporter?

Without objection, New York exhibits 3 and 4, September hearings, will be accepted as exhibits subject to consideration upon examination for introduction into our files.

Again I wish to congratulate you for your straightforward, hard-hitting statement against this criminal Communist conspiracy, one of the chief victims of this conspiracy being free labor throughout the world.

Mr. ZUKERMAN. Thank you very much for the opportunity.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Dr. Klar, please.

Mr. KERSTEN. You do solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. KLAR. I do.

Mr. KERSTEN. You are an interpreter from English into Jewish?

Mr. KOVACS. Hungarian.

Mr. KERSTEN. You do solemnly swear that you will truly translate from English into Hungarian and from Hungarian into English, so help you God?

Mr. KOVACS. I do.

Mr. KERSTEN. Give us your name.

Mr. KOVACS. Arpad Kovacs.

TESTIMONY OF DR. ZOLTAN KLAR

Dr. KLAR. I have been in the United States 1 year 3 months and when I arrived here I did not know 1 word of English.

Mr. MCTIGUE. I think you do very well. If you have any difficulty, don't hesitate to turn to the interpreter.

Your name is Dr. Zoltan Klar and you were born in Hungary in 1894, is that correct, Doctor?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. At the present time you are a physician on the staff of the Evangelical Deaconess Hospital in New York?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. In Hungary you were chief doctor in the Tinot Street Hospital in Budapest, is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. As early as 1918 you were very active in the fight against Bela Kun, who was one of the first Communist dictators of Hungary, or tried to be?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. As I understand it, in the early twenties you were elected as a member of the Budapest City Council, and served for a period of 16 years, is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And also elected member of the Council of the Budapest Jewish Community?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. I understand in July 1945, you organized the Social Federation of Hungarian Jews, is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And you were also one of the organizers of the Hungarian Council for Social Reconciliation which was an interfaith organization, made up of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and so forth and so on?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. I understand in December 1945, you were an organizer and executive director of the Budapest lodge of B'nai B'rith?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And it is my understanding that you finally left Hungary in December 1948 after having been subjected to a series of arrests and a series of tortures at the hands of the Communists, is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct.

Mr. MCTIGUE. During World War II, were you imprisoned by the Nazis?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir. I was in Mauthausen.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When were you liberated from Mauthausen?

Dr. KLAR. By the American Army, May 5, 1945.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is it true there were approximately 27,000 Jews at Mauthausen?

Dr. KLAR. 27,000, yes, sir, in my Jewish block.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How many were left alive by the time liberation came?

Dr. KLAR. About 48 in good health, and about 500 sick comrades I delivered for medical treatment to the United States Army. About 500.

Mr. MCTIGUE. About 500 out of 27,000 Jews were left alive?

Dr. KLAR. 27,000 Jews, and almost all dead.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After you were liberated did you return to Budapest?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What happened when you returned to Budapest in 1945, following your liberation from the concentration camp?

Dr. KLAR. I was nominated as high commissioner of the Hungarian Red Cross in Vienna.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you take the nomination?

Dr. KLAR. No.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Why?

Dr. KLAR. Because after my nomination Gen. Gabor Peter—he was chief of the secret Communist police in Budapest—told me that I can go to Vienna only if I will accept on my staff a Communist as a controller. I said it was impossible; that my nomination was a personal responsibility, and I would not be controlled by anybody; that my mission in the Red Cross was not a political mission; that this was an international committee and that the international agreement excluded politics.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Gabor Peter was the head of the Hungarian Communist secret police?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You refused to accept this position because they tried to impose upon you a Communist secretary?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you say this man Peter is now the Communist leader, or is he dead?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; he is dead all right. He was the omnipotent chief of the secret police in Hungary.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And he is dead?

Dr. KLAR. According to my information, he is dead.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When was it, Doctor, that you first began to realize the true position of the Jews in Hungary, following your return from the Nazi concentration camp?

Dr. KLAR. Right away, after I recovered from my typhus. I was sick when the liberation came.

The Communist Party's program for capturing control of the Jewish community in Hungary in July was under the direction of this Communist physician, Dr. Benedek, in 1945. There were about 120,000 Jewish survivors in Hungary after the Nazi terror. The spiritual leader of these people, who survived, was Dr. Francis Hevesi, the chief rabbi of Budapest, who for a while was allowed to be the spiritual leader. However, he was not allowed any other say in the organization of the Hungarian Jews; and when I recovered I went to him and we decided, together, to organize the Social Federation of the Hungarian Jews.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You and Chief Rabbi Hevesi, of Hungary, organized this federation to fight the Communists; is that right?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is Chief Rabbi Hevesi dead?

Dr. KLAR. He is dead.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did he die?

Dr. KLAR. He died about 1951.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did the federation that you formed begin to receive complaints that the Communists were rounding up thousands of Jews and deporting them to Siberia? Did your federation begin to receive such complaints?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

First we learned that those Jews who were returning from German concentration camps were held up at the frontier of Hungary and sent directly to Siberia—even the women.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How many complaints were you receiving, Doctor? Were they scattered complaints? Were you receiving hundreds or were you receiving thousands?

Dr. KLAR. At the beginning, only one, two, or three hundred; but later we had 14,000 names, with all the data. In sum total, however, many more were deported to Russia; at least 40,000 names of Jewish women and men who suffered in the Hitler concentration camps and finally survived with terrible difficulty and under the exceptional and special grace of God, became known later as victims of Communist deportations to Russia. The 14,000 people I mentioned before were those whom our federation had listed in the beginning.

Mr. MCTIGUE. A total of 40,000 Jews from Hungary alone who survived the Nazi concentration camps were sent to Siberia and put in the Communist Soviet concentration camps; is that right?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you have that list of names?

Dr. KLAR. A partial list of these names was sent to the Hungarian Legation in Moscow.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is there any other copy of it?

Dr. KLAR. I have a copy hidden in Hungary. Many hundreds of other documents I have here. These documents were transferred secretly through a friend of ours in Vienna; but this list of 14,000 names, in 3 huge bundles, he could not bring out on his person.

Mr. MCTIGUE. So the 14,000 names are still in Hungary?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. If there were a channel through which those books could be brought here, I would be glad to indicate precisely where they are hidden.

Mr. KERSTEN. You referred, Mr. Klar, to 3 books containing a total of, as I understand it, 14,000 names of Jewish victims of the Soviets. Now where are these books, at the present time?

Dr. KLAR. In Hungary. The original was sent to Moscow to the Hungarian Minister.

Mr. KERSTEN. I understand neither the copy nor the original are available here.

Dr. KLAR. They are not now available, but the person who handled those books, who tied them up and took care of them is now on this side of the Iron Curtain.

Mr. KERSTEN. Perhaps it is not advisable to name that person and if it isn't—I will withdraw that question.

Did you, Mr. Klar, direct the compiling of all the names, yourself?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir. I directed the compiling of all the names. I took three books to Mr. Frederick Beeske, at that time press chief of the Foreign Ministry in Hungary. This Mr. Beeske, an official, personally took these three bundles and sent them to the Hungarian Minister in Moscow, Professor Szekfu, and I have the original receipt for them.

Mr. KERSTEN. You have the receipt?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, I received it from Beeske. January 16, 1947, at the Foreign Ministry.

Mr. KERSTEN. May I see it?

Dr. KLAR. Certainly. Here it is.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Translator, will you read the exact translation of that receipt into the record, please?

The TRANSLATOR. The title is "From Mr. Frederick Beeske, Counselor, Budapest Foreign Office."

"I received a package of documents to be transmitted to Mr. Gyula Szekfu, Minister in Moscow, for transfer to Moscow. January 16, 1947."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And then the signature follows?

The TRANSLATOR. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Whose signature?

The TRANSLATOR. Beeske.

Mr. DODD. How do you know it is Beeske's signature?

Dr. KLAR. Because it begins with a capital "B".

Mr. DODD. Have you ever seen his signature anywhere else?

Dr. KLAR. No.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Dr. Klar could possibly identify it.

Can the witness identify the signature on the document which you have just read, and if so, how? Has he ever seen the signature before?

Dr. KLAR. Mr. Beeske was a good friend of mine. He was the press chief in the foreign office.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did he sign that receipt?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, he personally signed it before me.

Mr. MCTIGUE. He signed it in your presence?

Dr. KLAR. In my presence.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Now, Doctor, can you tell me when the Communists began their campaign of anti-Semitism in Hungary? During what period, if you know? When did the anti-Semitism campaign start in Hungary?

Dr. KLAR. In 1945.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was it early in 1945 or late in 1945?

Dr. KLAR. Late. About October. September or October.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was it about that time you started to build up this interfaith council?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Who did you see about this? How were you able to get members of the various faiths on this council? Who were some of them?

Dr. KLAR. Chief Rabbi Hevesi and I went to the former Minister of War, John Voros, because we knew that he was very close to Cardinal Mindszenty.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you propose the idea of an interfaith council to him?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you also approach Cardinal Mindszenty on this?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir; through General Voros.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did the Cardinal agree?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you also get the support of the Protestant groups?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Who? Did you get the support of the Unitarian Bishop Szentivanyi, and the Protestant Bishop Ravasz?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was this interfaith council effective, as far as the Communists were concerned? What did it do?

Dr. KLAR. Right after the foundation of this organization, the Communist Party rigidly opposed this organization.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What happened to the organization?

Dr. KLAR. It was dissolved. General Sviridov, the President of the Allied Control Commission, refused to give his consent to this organization.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did there come a time in March 1946, when a wave of anti-Jewish riots started in Hungary?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did you investigate these anti-Semitic developments yourself?

Dr. KLAR. First in Bonyhad and in Tokaj. Then we went together with Chief Rabbi Hevesi to Pecs, where we learned that former members of the Jewish forced-labor service were taken over by this Communist, Benedek, who was going to organize them. We succeeded in preventing this Communist infiltration.

After many riots all over the country, on May 21, 1946, there were major pogroms at two places, in Miskoltz and Kunmadaras. Five Jews became victims of the pogroms which were instigated and organized by the Communists.

The pogroms of Kunmadaras and Mishkoltz created great indignation in the whole country and we decided we were going to have a solemn celebration in the memorial service for the victims in the chief synagogue of Budapest on May 28, as a protest against these Communist excesses.

I also sent an open letter to all businessmen and members of the Jewish community in Budapest suggesting that at the moment of the solemn service they should close their stores and offices for 3 minutes as a demonstration.

Mr. MCTIGUE. The clipping that you have in your hand, Doctor, is that the notice that you sent out?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, this is a newspaper clipping of the proclamation urging that for the 3 minutes the shops be closed during the service.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this your newspaper? Were you an editor of this paper?

Dr. KLAR. Oh, no. All the newspapers, except the Communist paper, published this call to protest.

Mr. McTIGUE. You urged all shops in Budapest be closed in protest against the persecution of the Jews in Hungary?

Mr. KLAR. All stores and offices in Budapest; yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And this happened in May 1946?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. The proclamation is dated May 25, 1946.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened after this notice?

Dr. KLAR. During the service, about 10,000 people were standing outside of the temple, so great was the response to the proclamation.

Mr. McTIGUE. This was the result—in order to keep the record straight—of numerous pogroms that were taking place throughout Hungary? This mass demonstration?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. It wasn't related only to the killing of the five Jews to which you testified a few minutes ago, was it?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, this demonstration was generally directed against persecutions in the country and it was Chief Rabbi Hevesi who announced from the pulpit for the first time that the perpetrators of these crimes were Communists and the people will have to look for them in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Mr. KERSTEN. This proclamation published in this newspaper, does that refer to the fact that the perpetrators were Communists?

Dr. KLAR. No, the article does not. At that time no paper would have dared to print such a statement.

Mr. KERSTEN. Was the persecutions during the time of the Communist regime? Were they under Communist control in any respect? Was that indicated in there?

Dr. KLAR. No, such an article could not have been published at that time.

Mr. DODD. That isn't the question. If you will listen to the question it will help us. I think the chairman asked him if that was at a time when the Communists had taken over control, or was it prior to that time?

The INTERPRETER. Whether the Communists controlled or directed the persecutions?

Mr. DODD. What he is asking is this: at the time this witness is talking about, May 25, 1946, does he know whether the Communists were in complete control of Hungary?

Dr. KLAR. No. At that time they controlled only the secret police and the uniformed police force, since they took charge at once of the Ministry of the Interior, which controls the police.

Mr. DODD. The fact is that there was an Allied command in control, wasn't there? A Control Commission?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir. But the western members of the Control Council had no authority over the police; only over the Russians and the Red army.

Mr. KERSTEN. And Rabbi Hevesi announced from the pulpit, as I understand, that these victims were the victims of the Communists; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir; because we had already the precise information that the instigator of the Mishkoltz pogrom was the man—the name is Piros—who is at present the Communist Minister of the Interior in Hungary. Piros was the perpetrator of the pogroms against the Jews.

Mr. KERSTEN. What is his present ministry?

Dr. KLAR. He is Minister of the Interior. He is the Interior Minister now in Hungary. We had 100 percent documentation that the instigator of the pogrom was Piros, who at that time was the newly-appointed Communist police minister of Hungary.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, at our last hearings in New York on the Hungarian takeover by the Communists, Zoltan Pfeiffer, who was Under Secretary of Justice, testified as to this pogrom at Kunmadaras. He personally testified that he went to Kunmadaras and investigated this pogrom, himself, and he testified there was such a pogrom.

Now, did you in your position as one of the Jewish leaders in the community, send certain Jewish representatives to investigate that pogrom in Kunmadaras?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What was the report? What were the Jewish leaders told?

Dr. KLAR. That the perpetrators of the crime, the actual killers, were former Nazis who now belonged to the Communist Party.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did they demand, or was there a cry for the punishment of these people who were responsible for the killing of the Jews at Kunmadaras?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir. This mass of 10,000 people gathered in and before the synagogues started to hold an open-air demonstration against Laszlo Rajk, Minister of the Interior. On the march, it grew to 20,000 persons.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you the leader of the march?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Where were you marching to?

Dr. KLAR. To the Parliament. First to Rajk's ministry, the Ministry of the Interior, and then to the Parliament.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When you got to the Parliament the mob had grown to 20,000?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And the purpose was to protest at the Parliament against the killing of the Jews at Kunmadaras?

Dr. KLAR. And against the Communist Minister of the Interior, Rajk, whose attention we wished to draw to the duty of punishing these crimes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Although at that time the Communists had not taken complete control of Hungary, the secret police were already in the hands of the Communists; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. The whole police force was subordinated to Minister of Interior Rajk.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he was a Communist?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. He controlled the political police and the gendarmery. The president of the United Hungarian Jews of America

was in Hungary as a visitor at that time and he witnessed these developments in person. He is Mr. Oscar Sunshine, of New York. He is present in this room right now.

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you come forth here for a moment, please, Mr. Sunshine?

Mr. MCTIGUE. Pick up that part of the testimony where Dr. Klar, by motion of the hand, said, "There is an individual here by the name of Oscar Sunshine," and let the record show that this gentleman, Mr. Sunshine, stepped forward to the witness table.

Mr. KERSTEN. You speak English, sir?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Oh, yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you raise your right hand. You solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SUNSHINE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF OSCAR SUNSHINE

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you identify yourself, please?

Mr. SUNSHINE. I am a manufacturer of draperies and couch covers. My name is Oscar Sunshine. I live at 1475 Walton Avenue, the Bronx.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What is your present position or capacity in the Hungarian Jewish organization in New York?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Vice president.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Of what?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Of the United Hungarian Jews of America, and also of the World Federation of Hungarian Jews.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you born in Hungary?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You have heard the testimony of Dr. Klar this morning?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You heard his testimony with regard to the mass demonstration in May 1946 in Hungary?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You heard him testify they led a group of demonstrators amounting to some 20,000 in a march on the Parliament in a protest against the anti-Semitism and the pogroms taking place in Hungary?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you a part of this demonstration?

Mr. SUNSHINE. No, I was not a part of it. I was there the next day to see this minister—what is his name again?

Dr. KLAR. Rajk.

Mr. SUNSHINE. In behalf of these demonstrations that they had the day before. I happened to be in Hungary at the time.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You know these demonstrations took place?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Oh, yes; I read in the papers and I knew from other friends of mine that they occured at the time in Budapest.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You knew that Dr. Klar had headed this march?

Mr. SUNSHINE. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Those are all the questions I have for the moment.

Dr. KLAR. I have some pictures here which I would like to show the committee.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thank you.

Now, Doctor, when you arrived at the Parliament, did you attempt to see the Communist Minister of the Interior, Mr. Rajk, and present your protest to him?

Dr. KLAR. I addressed Monsignor Balog, who was secretary of state in the Minister presidency, and afterwards, I went to see Monsignor Varga, the speake of Parliament.

My first speech to Balog was made before the Parliament building; the others were addressed directly to the monsignor in his office.

Mr. McTIGUE. The fact of the matter is that the Communist minister, himself, refused to see you?

Dr. KLAR. He refused, because the demonstration was against the Communist Party and the minister was a Communist.

Mr. McTIGUE. But Monsignor Bela Varga, who was the president of the last free Parliament of Hungary, did receive you?

Dr. KLAR. He received us, yes; and he replied to us in very courteous language. He said that he was going to support our demands and he will see to it that the killers will be found and properly dealt with.

Mr. McTIGUE. Monsignor Varga, then, was very sympathetic to your protest. He understood what the situation was in Hungary?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. But he was more or less powerless to act because the Interior Ministry was controlled by the Communists; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. After this demonstration was over and after you had been refused an audience by the Communist Minister of the Interior, did anything happen to you personally? Were you arrested?

Dr. KLAR. In the afternoon of the same day, at 3 o'clock, two Russian NKVD men came to my office and they took me to the prison of the NKVD on Freedom Square.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you held there?

Dr. KLAR. Until about 9 o'clock in the evening. It was at this interrogation that I was charged with sabotage because of my proclamation, and the 3-minute closing of the shops, and the march. It was also claimed that it was a meeting held without permission.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you held? Until 9 o'clock that night?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And were you then released?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; because there was intervention from the President of the Republic, Mr. Tildy. The basis for this intervention was the following situation: Next day, on a Sunday, there was to be a great celebration to dedicate the home of our B'nai B'rith lodge, and of the Social Federation of Jews, and a great many people and celebrities were expected to be present, including the American and British representatives. It would have been embarrassing for the Communists to have me in their jail on such a day.

The next day was the celebration. I was free, and I made a speech in this celebration; but the President of the Republic, Mr. Tildy, who

worked for my release, he was not present. He did not come, in spite of his promises and in spite of the fact that everything was prepared for his reception, because the Communist Minister of the Interior called him and told him that he must not go. Mr. Jekely was the Chief of Cabinet to the President of the Republic. He phoned me and said the President would not be present because the Minister of the Interior told him he could not assume responsibility for the President if he showed friendliness to a highly suspect group.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were released to speak at this B'nai B'rith celebration the next day?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; it was the first time that the representative of Cardinal Dindszenty was present at a Jewish meeting, and the American Ambassador, Mr. Schoenfeld, was also present; Mr. Schoengeld made a fine speech.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were one of the speakers there, also?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. And the British and French Ambassadors also were present.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the ceremony was over and after you had spoken were you rearrested?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were sent back to jail?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. The NKVD men came to me and they took me. Not to Freedom Square, this time, but to the offices of the head of the Russian Kommandatura of the city, Soviet General Zamerchev.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were arrested, and then you were set free just to make this speech at the B'nai B'rith celebration, and you were immediately rearrested after the speech?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; I was rearrested in the afternoon, Sunday afternoon.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were returned to prison?

Dr. KLAR. I was taken to another prison; yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then, what happened to you?

Dr. KLAR. Until Tuesday morning I was questioned almost incessantely by Russian Army interrogators. Tuesday afternoon was my interrogation by the Russian general himself. He kept repeating that I participated in political sabotage and he wanted me to confess that I planned the demonstration against the Interior Minister and against the Communist Party for political reasons. This took place in a large office where General Zamerchev, the Russian commander of Budapest, sat in the company of an interpreter. The general urged me to confess that the demonstration was prepared for the purpose of denunciation against the Communist Party, and to weaken its position in Hungary.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you confess, Doctor?

Dr. KLAR. No. I declared if that had been my intention, I would say so. But my purpose was only to protest against the murder of Jews. Whereupon he told me, "Now, I am going to confront you with a witness who will demolish your excuses." In the company of a Russian soldier Louis Stoeckler, the Communist-appointed President of the Jewish community entered the room.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened when you were confronted by the Jewish Communist leader at NKVD headquarters?

Dr. KLAR. In the presence of General Zamerchev, Stoeckler declared to my face that he has positive information that the purpose of the demonstration was to show to the people and to public opinion abroad, that this trouble in Hungary involved the Communist Party and that we wanted to demonstrate for this purpose against the Communist Party and against the Minister of the Interior; that it was a plot against the order and security of the state.

At this moment I felt that I was lost and would be deported to Siberia, unless I found a way out.

I turned to Stoeckler, this Communist tool, and told him point blank that what he said was a downright lie, coming from a man who had previously served the Nazis in a similar fashion as a Nazi-appointed member of the so-called "Judenrat," no self-respecting person can give credit to his shameless allegations.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Without too much detail, tell us what happened.

Dr. KLAR. The Russian general, visibly impressed by my outburst, was silent for a while and then declared, "I believe you, Dr. Klar, you may go home." I was immediately released, and I considered it a miracle that I could see my family again.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did the Communists just about this time in May or June 1946, accuse Cardinal Mindszenty and the Catholics of the pogroms against the Jews?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did they accuse the cardinal, for example, of making a speech condoning these pogroms?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir. In order to sidetrack public wrath they started a propaganda campaign against the Catholic Church as a scapegoat for their crimes. There is a quotation in this Communist-controlled paper here which says that Cardinal Mindszenty declared——

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you identify the paper?

Dr. KLAR. The paper is the Figyelo, that is, the Observer. The date is June 8, 1946. The title of the article is "Kunmadaras"—this place where one of the pogroms occurred—"and the cardinal." It imputed to the cardinal the following statement:

This not the sin of society, but of the Jews who have provoked this pogrom, and I am not surprised at it.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is that allegedly a quote from Cardinal Mindszenty?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. It is italicized.

Of course, he never said this. It is a fabrication of the Communist newspaper that published it.

Mr. MCTIGUE. After this appeared in the Communist newspaper, what did Chief Rabbi Hevesi do?

Dr. KLAR. He proposed that the Council of Social Interfaith Reconciliation meet and issue a pronouncement defending the cardinal against this lie, in order to allay the public discord provoked by this Communist intrigue and show that there is unity among all religious elements in Hungary.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Now, who attended this interfaith council meeting that the chief rabbi called for the purpose of discussing the Communist charges against Cardinal Mindszenty?

Dr. KLAR. The Catholics were represented by Bishop Folba. The Reformed Church by Ravasz and Baron Radvanszky; the Unitarians by Bishop Szentgyorgyi. Also Bereeky, who at that time was state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Culture, was present.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did anybody else attend this meeting?

Dr. KLAR. John Peter.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Peter and Bereeky attended this meeting? Is that Peter the man known as Bishop Peter?

Dr. KLAR. At that time he was only a minor secretary in one of the ministries.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Are they the same Peter and Bereeky who attended an international church convention here in the United States recently?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you at the meeting of the Council of Social Reconciliation in Budapest?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were at the meeting?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, I was.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did Chief Rabbi Hevesi bring up the question of the charges against Cardinal Mindszenty?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir. He branded the statement imputed to the cardinal a falsification and proposed that the council refute it publicly and put an end to the false accusations against the Catholic Church in connection with the Communist riots and pogroms against the Jews.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Tell us what happened, then.

Mr. KERSTEN. Let me see if I get you clearly. This was a meeting of the interfaith council. There was a representative there of the Reformed Church, a representative of the Catholic Church, and this Bishop Peter—that is, just Peter was the name at that time; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. And who represented the Jewish people, Rabbi Hevesi?

Dr. KLAR. Rabbi Hevesi and myself.

Mr. KERSTEN. This meeting came together to state the truth with regard to this charge against Cardinal Mindszenty; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is this Peter who was there the same Peter who was recently in Evanston, Ill.?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. And I notice in today's paper, this same Peter is back in Hungary and has made some charges about the United States.

Dr. KLAR. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. That is the same Peter who was there on this occasion in 1946 that you are talking about?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Proceed to tell us what took place.

Dr. KLAR. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman, I would not like to testify to something not good about a clergyman because my feeling, and that meeting was because we know that if a demonstration occurs against

the Catholics it is not good for the Jew or the Protestants, either; it is good only for the Communists. If I testify to something bad about a Catholic priest or a Protestant minister, it is not good for the Jews, either.

However, the fact is, Peter was one of the secretaries of the Council of Reconciliation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Tell us what went on at the meeting, please.

Dr. KLAR. Both Peter and Berecky opposed the chief rabbi's motion by maintaining that the situation required further investigation. On this ground, therefore, they proposed that the Council of Interfaith Reconciliation should not take action on this matter.

Mr. KERSTEN. Action about what?

Dr. KLAR. Action about the proposal by Chief Rabbi Hevesi that the council declare that Cardinal Mindszenty did not make this declaration falsely charged to him by the Communists because he could not have made it; and that the council must put a stop to this agitation against the cardinal, the purpose of which was to put the Catholic Church in a bad light.

The representative of Cardinal Mindszenty was Bishop Folba, and in the name of the cardinal he declared that the cardinal never made such a declaration.

However, the attitude of Berecky was that this declaration cannot be accepted unless the cardinal will make it himself, personally. After that, we were unable to come to agreement and adopt a resolution. The second proposal of Chief Rabbi Hevesi was that the council take a stand for the evangelical bishop Ordas, who was under arrest on the basis of an impossible indictment concocted by the Communists.

Bishop Ordas also had membership in the presidium.

Berecky's position was that since the case of Ordas was sub judice, that is under legal investigation, the council should take no position on it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you and Rabbi Hevesi introduce a resolution asking for the punishment of the pogrom criminals, those who were responsible for it, irrespective of what party or faith they might have belonged to?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir; exactly.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did Peter and Berecky oppose this?

Dr. KLAR. Peter opposed it. Peter's stand in connection with this was, "Let's leave out the words: 'irrespective of party'," because he did not want the Communist Party to be involved.

Mr. KERSTEN. Who did not want the Communist Party to be involved?

Dr. KLAR. John Peter.

Peter came into the secretariat of our council of reconciliation because he said that he had good connections with the Communist Party, that he was a secretary at the Ministry, and that his wonderful connections with the Communist Party could greatly help the objectives of the council. And for this purpose we delegated him to be a secretary, as someone who had influence with the Communist Party and who could make it much easier to avoid difficulties with them in the pursuit of our objective of unity among the religions. He came into the secretariat for that reason.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did Peter make the statement in your presence that he had good connections with the Communist Party?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; and that is the reason why we took him into the secretariat. I proposed his election.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Communist press keep up its attack on Cardinal Mindszenty right along?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; they continued; but later an announcement was published in the official Catholic newspaper, demanding that the false attacks cease. The fact of the matter is that there was not even the slightest indication or evidence that Catholic circles had anything to do at all with the pogroms, or that Cardinal Mindszenty had ever made any statment even remotely resembling the one invented by the Communists.

On the contrary, there is full and conclusive evidence of the fact that the pogroms were ordered by the highest Communist policymakers in order to create hatred for the business class, an atmosphere in which it would be easier for them to carry their program of wholesale expropriation into effect. The fact is that later the editor of "Figyelo" himself had to admit in his paper that the charges against the cardinal were "without any foundation." It is clear, therefore, that in this fight Chief Rabbi Hevesi represented the truth and the Messrs. Brecky and Peter represented the interests of the Communist Party.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time in August 1946 when a Jewish delegation went to Revai, who was the chief editor of the official Communist paper, and appealed to him to halt the attacks on Cardinal Mindszenty?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. We went to Chief Editor Revai of the official Communist Szabad Nep. He was the chief ideologist-propagandist of the Communist Party. If we couldn't accomplish anything through the council of social reconciliation, we thought that we could, perhaps, make some impression on the chief propagandist who was in back of the attacks against Cardinal Mindszenty, and by virtue of a decision of the board of directors of our Jewish Social Federation, we sent a delegation to Revai.

Revai's reply to the arguments of the Chief Rabbi, who appealed to him as a fellow Jew, was that he was not a Jew but a Communist, and his attitude concerning our movement was characterized by him with a Russian proverb, "The more a priest condemns something, the more it is likely to be a good thing."

Mr. McTIGUE. In 1947, early in 1947, the Communist Minister of the Interior ordered the dissolution of the Social Federation of Hungarian Jews; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And later on in that year, on or about August of 1947, did the Communist Minister of the Interior order that the assets of B'nai B'rith in Hungary be seized?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were they seized?

Dr. KLAR. Everything.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the assets of B'nai B'rith then given over to the Communist-led Jewish organization in Hungary?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And who was the head of that organization?

Dr. KLAR. Dr. Benedek and Stoeckler.

Mr. MCTIGUE. In July 1948, did you attempt to start an opposition party within the Jewish community?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was an election held?

Dr. KLAR. No.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was your party permitted to continue?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir; for a while.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What happened to it, finally?

Dr. KLAR. We continued petitioning the right to hold elections in the Jewish religious community because we knew that the Communists among them numbered only about 1 or 2 percent. But there were eternal procrastinations and no action.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were elections held in the Jewish community in May 1948?

Dr. KLAR. Yes; in May 1948. Elections were scheduled, at least on paper.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Who was the winner of that election?

Dr. KLAR. Our candidates were terrorized into silence by the Communists, but they refused to withdraw their candidacies as the Communists demanded. We would have won the elections overwhelmingly if they had been held.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did the Communist slate of candidates win this election in May 1948?

Dr. KLAR. Actually, no elections were ever held. When we submitted our list to the Communist Party, the next day Communist agents visited all the candidates and advised them or urged them to withdraw their names because the Communist Party would not stand for it. I have dozens of documents which prove this. Not a single man withdrew.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Right after this development, you were imprisoned by the Communists; is that correct? You had managed to make quite a nuisance of yourself up to this point as far as the Communists were concerned, that is certainly clear from your testimony. Was it just about this time that you were again arrested by the Communists?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were imprisoned?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were tortured there?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How long were you in prison?

Dr. KLAR. From June 15 until July 6.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was physical torture practiced upon you?

Dr. KLAR. For 11 days I was at No. 60 Andrassy Street on the second floor, almost constantly between two reflectors, and under continuous investigation and questioning. The gist of the interrogation was, first, they wanted to know where the papers were which referred to the deported members of the forced-labor service—those deported to Russia.

The second charge was that the B'nai B'rith was an American agency. They produced photographic pictures which showed that our sessions in the B'nai B'rith were held under the American flag. That is a fact. That was true, since the rules of the Hungarian B'nai B'rith prescribed that in every session the Hungarian and American flags be displayed. But the photograph used at my interrogation displayed only that half of the room where the American flag was displayed and left out the other half where the Hungarian flag was. Also, they charged that with the help of the B'nai B'rith, I sent about 10 university students to the United States; more than 10; and that, through that, I had weakened the "people's" democracy.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you confined in this prison, Doctor, as a result of these charges?

Dr. KLAR. Twenty-one days. After I was released I remained under police surveillance until the last moment.

Mr. McTIGUE. You escaped from Hungary in December 1948; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. One more question, Doctor: I understand that in prewar Hungary that you had a reputation as a duelist; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many duels did you fight?

Dr. KLAR. In my life, about 70. And never in my life have I had one wound.

Mr. McTIGUE. You never lost a duel; is that correct?

Dr. KLAR. Never.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the occasion for this, just as a matter of of information, these duels?

Dr. KLAR. Mostly against Nazis.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this a life and death matter, these duels?

Dr. KLAR. About half of them.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Dr. KLAR. I have documents to corroborate this.

Mr. KERSTEN. Were these athletic contests, these duels? Is that what you are talking about?

Dr. KLAR. No, no, no. It was often a life and death matter.

Mr. McTIGUE. They were in connection with the Nazis for the most part; is that right?

Dr. KLAR. For the most part: yes, sir. Nazis and other anti-Semites.

I would like to call your attention to something very important. In 1940, the Hungarian Minister to Moscow, Professor Szekfu, came to see us in the Social Federation, and told us on the basis of his observations, that there were still thousands of Jewish prisoners and members of the former forced labor service from Hungary in Russia. Later he gave an interview which was printed in this Communist paper, Figyelo, which stated that 30,000 members of the forced labor service and other deported persons would be returned from Russia. This figure of 30,000 was given to us and to the paper by the Hungarian Minister to Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that 30,000 Jews?

Dr. KLAR. Ninety percent of them Jewish. Minister Szekfu returned to the foreign office and informed them that the Hungarian Legation in Moscow had no money to transport these unfortunates back to Hungary. He suggested to the Foreign Minister that the latter get in touch with our federation and ask us to contribute funds for the return of these unfortunates from Russia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Contribute money?

Dr. KLAR. Yes. Here are the original letters about which I was questioned at 60 Andrassy Street. The Foreign Office sent several letters to me. They requested me, with reference to the former prisoners and members of the forced-labor service, to send money as speedily as possible to Moscow, because the Ministry cannot provide funds for this purpose. And there is the most important document in connection with this matter which I received from the Hungarian Minister in Moscow and in which he describes the condition of these prisoners and members of the former forced-labor service, and this is the document which the investigators at 60 Andrassy Street wished to get most. This is a top-secret document. Minister Szekfu describes in this document how hundreds of these people arrived from Siberia in Moscow in a desperate situation, sick and enfeebled, starved and bedraggled, in rags, without clothes or any other possessions.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Instead of having Dr. Klar testify from the document, wouldn't it save time if we were able to admit the document as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman? I think we might save time here, and let the document speak for itself.

Dr. KLAR. I will be glad to have a photostat made and sent.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You will send a photostatic copy, attested to?

Dr. KLAR. Out of the 30,000 only 1,500 returned.

Mr. MCTIGUE. With the document as part of the record, that will explain the situation. We have Dr. Klar's testimony on that subject which I think is in enough detail for the purposes of the record and the letter itself will complete the record in that respect.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Machrowicz——

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Feighan——

Mr. FEIGHAN. No questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think, Dr. Klar, that you should have a photostatic copy made of the last document referred to and you also referred to another piece of paper just before that, referring to the same victims. You also, I think, should have a photostatic copy made of that, and furnish them to the committee as a part of your testimony. Will you do that?

Dr. KLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you for your very fine presentation, Doctor. It has been very helpful to the committee.

We will adjourn at this time until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., the committee adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:15 p.m.

Mr. KERSTEN. The hearing will come to order.

Is Mr. Ben Kaufman here, please?

Mr. KAUFMAN. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Kaufman, will you please rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KAUFMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BEN KAUFMAN, CMH, JWV NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. KERSTEN. We are honored and pleased to have you before us today, Mr. Kaufman, to testify in behalf of your organization, the Jewish War Veterans.

Mr. Counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you give your full name for the record, please?

Mr. KAUFMAN. My name is Benjamin Kaufman, and at present I am the national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were formerly national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, were you not?

Mr. KAUFMAN. Yes, sir; from 1941 to 1943.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Where do you reside?

Mr. KAUFMAN. My home is in Trenton, N. J.; but our office is in Washington, D. C.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is it true that you are a holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor?

Mr. KAUFMAN. That is right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. That was won during World War I?

Mr. KAUFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Kaufman has a prepared statement in connection with his testimony before the committee.

May I suggest that he be permitted to proceed with it?

Mr. KERSTEN. By all means, and I wish to state again that we are very pleased and happy to have you appear here. We all know about the great work of the Jewish War Veterans. They are well represented throughout this country. We are very pleased to have you as their spokesman today.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Thank you. It is a privilege and an honor, sir.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, on behalf of the more than 950 posts and auxiliaries of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, I consider it a deep honor and a privilege to have been invited here to testify on an issue that has absorbed the minds and hearts of JWV members for more than half a century.

Let me say at the outset that communism, by the very nature of its philosophy and the motor that generates its deadly machinery, has always represented an irreconcilable force to the Jewish War Veterans.

Its premises and manifestations are inconsistent with the ideals of the founding fathers of our organization who set forth the basic prin-

ciples of JWV in the preamble to its constitution written at the time of the organization's birth in 1896. That document pointed out that the purposes of JWV were to "maintain allegiance to the United States of America, to foster and perpetuate true Americanism and to combat whatever tends to impair the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions."

It went on to state that JWV would "encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights and full justice to all men, combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating and whatever their target," and "foster the education of ex-servicemen and our members in the ideals and principles of Americanism."

To this end, heart and mind, body and spirit, we have dedicated ourselves.

As Jews, with a heritage of suffering and persecution, of individualism and independence, we are a sensitive barometer to all things that tend, in whatever disguise they may assume, to abridge our freedoms.

As veterans, we know how dearly one must pay to uphold these principles against the call of Satan which inspires men to wallow in the depths of perversity, cruelty, and ignorance.

As Americans, we know that we have become the great bastion and hope of all that is good in western civilization with its inherent principles of justice and freedom to all men.

Almost at the inception, when its represented a mere academic exercise and its premises and theories were being fought out only in the classrooms and lecture halls of the world, the Jewish War Veterans were quick to see through the deceptive veil that shrouded Marxist doctrines and excited humanity with its promises of a better life for all men.

Beneath the veil, our members saw the taint of slavery, of blood, and suffering that lay hidden beneath the high-sounding phrases that were soon to capture the imagination of unwitting and unthinking minds who reached out blindly to pluck the golden apple only to find that it was hollow and unpalatable.

In the archives of the Jewish War Veterans one could find repeated warnings that this menace, this manufactured messianic machine, clothed in the trappings of the angels, was nothing more than another scheme to entrap the body and soul of man in the shackles of slavery.

With all the resources at our command, we warned our own members. We warned the American people. We warned the world. We cautioned all in high places to beware of the conspirators, to take heed, to combat this cancerous ideology before it had inextricably woven its malignant chains about our entrails.

We were not fooled by the Communist propagandist who glibly extolled the tolerance of communism with respect to races and religions. For we know that almost from the beginning, religious freedom behind what has come to be known as the Iron Curtain was a myth, just as it is today.

Long before the infamous "doctor's plot" in the Soviet Union and the open anti-Semitic activity in the satellite countries, the Jewish War Veterans had no illusions as to the intent of the Communists.

As Jews, we were not shocked over these latest manifestations of anti-Semitism, for we knew they were there all along. At this very moment, more than 2 million Jews are locked behind the Iron Curtain, unable to emigrate, relegated to hopeless slavery in countries with no morality or sense of honor.

But evil, like crabgrass, springs up in abundance among healthy plants unless the proper remedies are employed. Thus, we find ourselves still a healthy plant, but in a forest of weeds, surrounded by the menace we might have destroyed when it was still a babe in swaddling clothes. Now, we must contend with the grown man, with strong muscles, with a mind that functions, although perversely and with diabolical cunning.

But the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America believe that this Communist man, although strong and threatening, can and will be defeated. For the Communist man is lacking in the things that spell the difference between eventual triumph and defeat. He has no soul. His spirit is Godless. In his heart there is no compassion. These are the very things that brought ruin on devil-inspired totalitarian ideas since the beginnings of this earth.

The question in the minds of all Americans today is what can be done to root out this insidious weed that threatens the gardens of freedom? Let me say, first, that the Jewish War Veterans have no panaceas, no magic medicines, no quick solution to this enormous problem.

We have, however, pursued positive programs in this regard, programs inspired by a sincere desire to educate our own members and our fellow countrymen as to the dangers and pitfalls of communism.

We have, for example, sponsored forums in major cities which were designed to give the entire Communist issue a full airing, to incisively explore its dangers and shed some light on the methods it employs to filter through the crevices of American life.

We have kept a constant barrage of material flowing from our national headquarters on this subject, material produced by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Congress and many Government agencies, in order to give our members a well-rounded course on the Communist conspiracy and equip them with the tools that are needed to wage a full-scale war of ideas.

We inspired a boycott of goods produced in Communist countries which were being sold by men in our own country who still cannot distinguish between a principle and a dollar.

We have given the Communist issue top emphasis in all programs that are carried out by posts in communities throughout the country, not merely as internal programs for our own members but as programs in which the entire community can participate.

We have intertwined these programs with other veterans' organizations such as the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, Catholic War Veterans, and the AMVETS, with a view to uniting the American veteran in pursuit of a determined and bipartisan stand on this issue. Let me say that as a distinct segment of American life, the veteran, Jew and Christian

alike, has been leading the fight against communism head and shoulders above other groups.

By our active participation in the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, we have joined forces with organizations representing 50 million Americans to channel and coordinate efforts to combat the Communist conspiracy. We have embodied many of the programs set forth by that body into our own national program, thereby giving teeth to the precepts of the All American Conference and setting an example for others to follow.

In this regard, we actively sponsor Know Your America Week within our own organization as a forward step in acquainting the public at large with the wonders and greatness of America, its deep heritage of freedom and the great sacrifices made by selfless men to preserve the ideals that are its cornerstone.

Our Americanism commission and our commission on the Communist Danger work unceasingly to insure that Communist influences are quickly dispelled wherever their roots might find fertile soil on which to nourish themselves.

Our important policy committee, which recommends matters of policy to our national executive committee, the ultimate governing body of JWV, has formulated a long record of forthright and courageous stands opposing the various manifestations of communism over many years.

These have been promptly accepted by the NEC and put into action as part of JWV national programs and policies.

Just recently, for example, a resolution was passed by the national executive committee favoring the outlawing of the Communist Party. As you know, the Congress recently passed a bill making such a desire a fact.

The full record is too long and too detailed to recount here, but it should be known that the Jewish War Veterans, true to our traditions, are waging constant battle with the cancerous ideology of communism. We are helping to fight it, as all Americans should, in the boxing ring of ideas, not only destructively but constructively.

In this age of cynicism and fear, one cannot merely vent one's spleen on the things one hates, but must occupy one's thoughts and acts for the things one loves. It does not follow that if the Communists talk peace we must talk of war, or if the Communists take positive steps with a view toward relieving want and misery we must take negative steps.

The secret lies in exposing the motivations behind the Communist thinking, exposing the cold-blooded calculations that lie behind their every move.

In order that we may do this efficiently, we must stop living in an atmosphere of fear, for this atmosphere creates a vacuum where nothing will grow, and we will find ourselves falling prey to the very things we detest.

We must also beware of those who, putting self-ambition before national interest, sometimes confuse and misdirect our purposes. To utilize the very methods and approaches of the Communists in combatting the evil can serve no useful purpose and will make of us the same monster we despise.

We must educate ourselves and help to educate others as to the Communist menace, being cautious not to cease searching for this knowledge before we have reached full understanding of the issues involved; for most of the mistakes in this world have been caused by the half educated, those who act and talk from the top of their heads.

Yes; the Jewish War Veterans are old hands in this business of fighting communism. It is a tricky and sometimes heartbreaking thing, but in the basic battle between good and evil the JWV will go along with the wise old axiom that good will prevail.

In a country that has made such great strides in the merchandising of toiletries and washing machines, we are still a little backward in selling the truth. But we are making progress. We are coming out of our slumber, and I am certain that our children and our grandchildren will one day be able to walk about in a world where freedom will stand unfettered in every hemisphere and communism will be just another totalitarian idea whose fallacies and falsehoods were discovered in the nick of time.

I thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Dodd.

Mr. DODD. I am very grateful to you for your statement. It is helpful.

I know about your organization's work because I know General Klein, who is an old friend of mine.

You stand in a very select group, among those who recognize the basic evil in this business that we call communism, and who have recognized it from the beginning.

As the list grows longer—and, fortunately, it is growing longer, in my judgment—that group which recognized the fundamental evil of this thing is a very distinguished group of people.

You didn't have to wait until something happened to the Jewish people to recognize the fact that this was something that was incompatible with decency in the world.

There isn't much we can do about that now, but it may help us in the future.

I remember when the concordat was signed between the Nazi State and the Catholic Church. There were some Catholics who thought they could get along with the Nazis. Being one myself, I can speak freely. They didn't see the basic evil in that wicked political system.

Somehow or other, I think we have to get people so that they attack these things, not on the basis of whether or not they hurt us individually but whether or not they are fundamentally wrong.

Your organization has had a great record in that respect.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Thank you, sir. I remember clearly when Russia signed the pact with Germany and the German American group hooked up with the Communist Party in opposing the selective service draft. I remember appearing at several meetings that almost ended up in brawls.

As a matter of fact, we appeared at meetings all over the country decrying the fact that here were two totalitarian ideas that were hooking up and there was no basic difference between or in either of them,

and we feel, sir, that there is no basic difference between communism, fascism, or any other totalitarian idea.

Mr. DODD. You are opposed to it for the best of reasons, I think. It always troubles me because I am afraid there are some people in the world who would drop their opposition to communism tomorrow if Russia ceased to be a military threat to the peace of the world.

While ending the military threat would be a happy situation, and I would like to see it come about, in my judgment, it would be no reason for dropping opposition to communism or not sufficient reason.

Mr. KAUFMAN. I agree with you, sir; there is no good in a totalitarian government, and there never can be. As long as the state is the master of man, there can be no unity between the two.

Mr. KERSTEN. I wanted to say, Mr. Kaufman, I think your statement—the statement of your organization—is a magnificent statement. I particularly like the incisive, direct way that you approach the problem and to recognize that the basic battle is between good and evil. There are so many people who do not recognize the existence of evil and good as such.

I think that your organization has, as you have stated—I know in the area I am familiar with—I know of the great cooperation between your veterans' organization and the others, all for the common good.

I congratulate you for a fine statement.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Rabbi Schultz.

Will you raise your right hands? Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN JEWISH LEAGUE AGAINST COMMUNISM, INC.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you state your name for the record, Rabbi?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Benjamin Schultz.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And your address?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. 220 West 42d Street, New York City.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism; is that correct?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes; I am.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, I understand that Rabbi Schultz has a prepared statement and, if there is no objection, may I suggest that he be permitted to proceed with his statement?

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, Rabbi, you may proceed. We are very happy to have you with us. We are proud and honored to have you with us.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. First of all, may I settle the matter of literature? We have tried to be very considerate of this committee and I have brought no fat packages to unload on you, but I do have one copy each of a few documents here and I will send you more. Here is a book we published called Soviet Russia and the Jews.

Here are just a couple of bulletins which contain the history of the American Jewish League Against Communism, and through the mails

I shall send all the members of this committee extra copies not only of this but of letters to the United Nations and other things which may be mentioned this afternoon.

Is that all right?

Mr. KERSTEN. That is all right.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Thank you.

The American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc., is an educational membership organization functioning from coast to coast, and incorporated in New York and California. It was founded in 1948 for the express purpose of spreading the truth about communism at home and abroad. Having pioneered in the effort to expose the tragic situation of the Jews behind the Iron Curtain, we welcome the work of your committee, and salute it.

This witness, now executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, described the Soviet persecution of the Jews in his weekly column in the National Jewish Post in 1945 and 1946, thus bringing to English-reading audiences—and, by the way, these were the first accounts in English—the fresh eyewitness stories of Yiddish-speaking refugees.

In August 1946 his syndicated article appeared in American daily newspapers. It began:

Russia is the world's cruelest dungeon for Jews—

and continued—

a few weeks ago the jailer's Iron Curtain dropped again. It was raised slightly last year when Poles came home with news of Jewish agony. The pious were hounded, Hebrew forbidden, Zionists jailed. Oldsters might worship, but woe to teachers of faith to children. It was worse than Lenin's time.

Our league's platform, announced at its founding in 1948, stressed the fight against Communist infiltration and deception in America, and against Soviet persecution abroad. Our efforts and projects in the first category would require many pages to list. They are not germane to these hearings.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, may I break in for a moment to interpolate that it is my sincere opinion that efforts against Communist infiltration and deception in this country are technically not germane to these hearings. However, I appreciate the good intention of the other organizations in mentioning their own efforts against Communist infiltration, which are very fine, and with your permission I shall very briefly, for a moment, list for the record some of the activities of the American Jewish League Against Communism.

First, I want to make plain that without criticizing any other organization, this league does not believe that there is fear in this country. There is no atmosphere of fear. There is fear in Russia; not in America, with the exception of that small but confused segment of so-called "intellectuals" and "liberals," who seem to fear exposure of communism.

To that extent there is fear. I say without derogation to anyone else that I want to make the position of my own Jewish organization clear. The American Jewish League Against Communism fights forthrightly, and always has, without any apologies, for Americanism in colleges, universities, public schools, among the clergy, and everywhere else. And we fight infiltration.

Now, in that sort of aggressiveness, this Jewish League Against Communism associates itself, and has associated itself, with the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans, the Sons of the American Revolution, and other such patriotic organizations.

I think for the record, and in justice to my organization, these things ought to be said. What should be noted here is that our 1948 statement—platform—vowed "to unfold the horrible and long-suppressed truths about the Soviet persecution of Jewish religion and of Hebrew education and culture in Russia," and "to conduct our campaign through the dissemination of literature, by means of public discussions, and in every way designed to educate Jews and Gentiles alike on the challenge which the dark forces of communism present to civilization everywhere."

Shortly thereafter, and years before the public sensation regarding Red Jew-baiting, the league called attention to Communist anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia and Rumania; and we successfully weathered the attacks of distinguished American "liberals" for daring to broach the subject at all.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, at this point in the record I would just like to say to you, Rabbi Schultz, that I am personally aware of the strong and enlightening position on communism which you have taken for years and I want to compliment you, Rabbi Schultz, for your courage in meeting this important issue head on, and early.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Thank you very much Congressman. I shall report this very welcome development to our board.

It was in the spring of 1949, however, that a milestone was reached. We published an authoritative and pioneering booklet called Soviet Russia and the Jews, by Gregor Aronson. He was a former member of the Moscow Soviet, now on the staff of the New York Russian-language daily, Novoye Russkoe Slove.

He is a recognized authority on current Soviet thought and literature. In his pamphlet he demolished by factual analysis the propaganda—pleasing to both Communists and anti-Semites—that Russia is somehow a paradise for the Jews. He calmly and objectively destroyed the myth of Birobidzhan, documented antireligious terror, and after analyzing many more situations, concluded that "the Soviet Jews are left completely defenseless against the Soviet tyranny. Their past has been stripped from them and their future is bleak."

It was that same summer that responsible accounts reached us of a new physical molestation of Russian Jews. Now, this was 1949, gentlemen. This was no campaign against intellectuals. This was news that literally thousands of obscure Jews—entire villages and whole families of them—were being given near-Nazi treatment by Stalin.

On July 25, 1949, the American Jewish League Against Communism reported to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, on Russian deportations of Jews from their homes. Our letter said that 400,000 men, women, and children, "more than one-fourth of the Jewish population of Russia," were being shipped into slavery in the cold northern regions. "The Russian countryside," we wrote, is filled with long northbound deportation trains." We voiced our

suspicion that the reason was that these Jews were natively so enamored of liberty that they had to be isolated by the dictatorial masters of the country, who chose to vent their cruelty on them. We asked for an inquiry by the appropriate departments of the U. N.

Our appeal was all but ignored by the U. N. We received the distinct impression from the U. N. that the U. N. wished to do nothing in the matter of Soviet persecution of the Jews. We shall retain this impression unless your honorable committee and Congress prevail upon our Government to persuade the U. N. to take some interest in this grave matter.

Now, what I am coming to is a different matter. The American Jewish League Against Communism desires to bring to the attention of the world the true proportions of one of the most horrible tragedies in history, the mass extermination of Jews during World War II. The truth has been largely suppressed. Everyone knows that the Nazis murdered millions of Jews in most sadistic fashion. Hitler and his followers will live in infamy forever. But what has not been realized is that the Communists collaborated in this extermination, and evidently engaged in extermination of Jews on their own. Much of this occurred during a war in which Stalin fought Hitler, but during which Nazis and Reds were united in hatred of the Jews.

No totalitarians can endure the Jews.

Because this league's findings over the years have later been confirmed by other agencies, and hence have been proved responsible, we ask close attention to what we now unfold.

When Hitler invaded Russia in 1941, there were about 5,140,000 Jews in Russian-held territory—you recall, in 1939, Stalin got part of Poland and got the Baltic countries, and these are included in that figure—5,140,000. Russia holds approximately the same territory today. But there are only 1,750,000 Jews within those boundaries today. Figures were compiled from Soviet and Jewish sources. This means that 3,390,000 Jews vanished there during World War II.

It was in June 1941 that the Nazi hordes began their progress into Russia. It is admitted by all that in the Ukraine, the vast majority of the Jews were slaughtered that year. But a famous myth was enunciated by Dmitri Manuilsky, Ukrainian delegate to the San Francisco Conference, on May 14, 1945, and this was in an interview with the New York Communist-Yiddish paper, Freiheit: "Most of the Ukrainian Jews were killed by the Germans because they advanced so quickly that very many Jews found it impossible to escape." This is not accurate.

The Germans reached the gates of Kiev, for instance, on August 8, 1941, and took it on September 21—a good 2½ months later. There was plenty of time to evacuate the Jews, but they were kept there. By whom? Why?

They were deliberately kept there and were killed—175,000 of them—presumably upon capture of Kiev by the Germans. But the known anti-Semitism of the Ukrainian Communists, specifically those in Kiev, and the proved antipathy of the national regime to ordinary Jews, casts doubt upon this pat theory.

The same thing happened in Odessa, where 180,000 Jews fell. Odessa was reached by the Nazis on August 13, and they took it on

October 16. Manuilsky's excuse that the Germans advanced too "quickly" for the Jews to escape is thus exploded, and shows, if anything, some feeling of guilt in him. The Jews were kept there. But by whom? And why? And what really happened?

It is in the statistics from western—White—Russia that we begin to sense the chilling truth. A Moscow Yiddish newspaper announced the death of 60,000 Jews in Minsk. "Everything occurring in Minsk," it continued, "has been repeated in every White Russian city. The Germans have done away with practically every Jew."

But the same paper, a month before, had mentioned another White Russian city—Vitebsk. This was in the fall of 1942 that it was printed in the Communist newspaper of Moscow, Einikeit, and here is the clue—it revealed that when the Germans entered, they found only 22,000 Jews, although the city had contained 100,000. No one had been evacuated.

What happened to the remaining 78,000? A Moscow newspaperman who spent a period hinting broadly that Jews had been evacuated from various cities was finally repudiated by his own Government when it unwittingly announced the slaughter of 60,000 Jews in Riga, after this writer had claimed they were evacuated.

78,000 Jews simply vanished in Vitebsk, then, before the Nazis entered.

The American Jewish League Against Communism, on the basis of this and other facts, is convinced that a "Katyn Forest" massacre of Jews by Communists took place in Russia during World War II, and took place piecemeal, in many spots. We charge that this massacre has been deliberately concealed not only by the Russian Government but by certain western authorities, who, through either conviction or diplomatic considerations, were loathe to tell the truth about Russia.

The original Katyn massacre—that is where I get the name—is well known to our Congress. After the Stalin-Hitler invasion of Poland, some 15,000 Polish officers, mostly intellectuals who had been drafted into the army, fell into Russian captivity. They disappeared, and no trace was found until years later the corpses of thousands of them were exhumed by enemy soldiers—slain and buried in the Russian forest of Katyn. Soviet Russia accused the Nazis of the killings. The Nazis, of course, were veteran mass murderers, and this seemed plausible. But Moscow would permit no inquiry. The Nazis, in turn, accused the Russians.

Our House of Representatives, in 1952, appointed an investigating committee. The committee has rendered a report holding the Soviet secret police guilty, and calling for a United Nations proceeding. I suggest strongly, and I charge on behalf of my organization, that proper investigation by international authorities would show what has also been hidden, and ascribed to the Nazis, the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Jews in Russia by the Communists. It is known that the vast majority of Jews in Europe that were killed were killed by the Nazis. But the Russians should not be absolved of any hundreds of thousands of Jews that they killed.

The blood of hundreds of thousands of Jews slain by Communists on Soviet soil, and unrequited to this moment, calls for justice. It would be right for our own Congress to add to its demand for a U. N.

proceeding, this item of the Katyn massacre of Jews of Russia. Or, if the U. N. does not act, let an impartial panel of jurists and respected citizens of various nations be empowered to conduct an inquiry into the Katyn massacre of Jews.

Let no man underestimate the menace of communism to the Jews. Only 2 years ago, we saw Stalin himself fanning the flames of anti-Jewish bias against various persons in Russia. Communism, by definition, will use any base means to achieve its ends. It is our conviction that when and if the present regime fancies danger to itself, it will use the divide-and-conquer tactics of Stalin, and eventually order the complete annihilation of the Jews of Russia.

But it is the danger to religion—all religion—that has the widest implications for us here. The Communists know that no true Jew and no true Christian can be a Communist. With the destruction of church and synagogue, goes the destruction of everyone who is inspired by libertarian or democratic ideals, all over the earth.

Communist aggression, sated with the blood of the Soviet peoples of various faiths, now threatens America and the world. It is dedicated to global conquest. What shall be our counterattack? Shall it be an ultimatum? Or a show of strength? Or a frank declaration that war exists? I am sure our great men will find a solution once they realize there is no such thing as peaceful coexistence with the Kremlin, unless it be the coexistence of the lion and the lamb it swallowed.

I thank this committee.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Dodd?

Mr. DODD. I have no questions. I am thankful to you for your help. Our job is an educational task, as I think has been said many times. We don't feel we are going to be able to do anything about what is happening behind the Iron Curtain immediately, certainly, but we can bring the attention of people who do not know yet what has happened there or what does happen under the Communist form of Government before them.

When we get testimony such as you have given us today in our record, which will ultimately appear in our report, it can be turned over to a great many people in this country and you are helping us fill one of our prime responsibilities on this committee as members of the House of Representatives.

Thank you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Rabbi, I want to congratulate you for your forthright statement and particularly with reference to your statement that peaceful coexistence is absolutely unattainable.

In my opinion, it will lead only to complete surrender, or war. May I ask you this: Has your committee any evidence to show how many of those Jews who vanished from the Soviet Union during World War II may be alive and imprisoned in the Arctic tundra of Siberia?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. We have no doubt that quite a few of them are. As far as Jews that are imprisoned are concerned, we accept the statistics that have been offered here within these 2 days. Our contribution is agonized soul-searching consultation of statistics, interviews with refugees who come to our office, some of whom do not wish to

be known, and consultations with authorities in Europe. We have come to a conclusion, as a man comes to a conclusion when he first sees a wolf and a lamb standing side by side; then he looks away for 5 minutes and he looks back and he sees the lamb lying in a pool of blood and the wolf with blood dripping from his mouth—it is just circumstantial evidence.

You didn't see the wolf eat the lamb, but you know there has been a massacre. It is very acceptable circumstantial evidence, and on the basis of that, we charge a Katyn massacre of the Jews.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I have no doubt that you are absolutely correct in that charge. Thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. Rabbi Schultz, I wish to congratulate you for your very fine, clear-cut statement.

With regard to the portions of your statement pertaining to the deduction that the Communists are responsible for the Jews in the various cities toward which the Nazis advanced, it would seem to me that whether the Communists kill them or the Nazis killed a portion or all of them, that the Communists are certainly absolved of no responsibility in the matter for their failure to evacuate them if they had the opportunity, but the situation is very much like the underground army of Warsaw that rose up to fight the Nazis, and with the Soviet Army waiting on the opposite side of, I believe, the Vistula River, it was, until the Nazis conquered and killed most or a large part of the Polish underground army.

In other words, they let the Nazis do their work for them and they were coconspirators in the extermination of these people. It would appear that possibly the same thing exists here, but in any event, the responsibility of the Communists for the massacre of these Jewish people. Do you agree that that is the situation?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes; that is the minimum that could be said. They would be guilty, nevertheless. Our charge, of course, goes further than that.

Mr. KERSTEN. I understand. And to put it most favorably to the Communists, still very heavy guilt attaches. From all the other evidence, they are bent upon exterminating the Jews, particularly when they form into a logical opposition to Communists?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. That is right.

Mr. KERSTEN. I also wish to thank you for your statement about coexistence, because your evidence before this committee is incontrovertible, that the Red regime, the Communist conspiracy, is essentially evil—essential evil—essentially antihuman.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Right.

Mr. KERSTEN. For that reason, freemen, or man in his dignity, cannot coexist with this kind of system. I congratulate you for this statement and for your great work through the years.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Thank you, sir. It has been a privilege to meet you.

(The documents submitted by Rabbi Schultz were marked "Exhibits Nos. 5, 6, and 7, New York, September 1954.")

Mr. MCTIGUE. I want to point out that the anonymous rabbi who was to appear here this afternoon will be unable to appear.

At this time, I call Rabbi Dr. Israel Goldstein.

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you state your full name for the record, Doctor, please?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Israel Goldstein.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What is your address?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. 300 Central Park West.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are president of the American Jewish Congress; is that correct?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, I am.

Mr. MCTIGUE. When did you assume the office of president of the American Jewish Congress?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Nearly 3 years ago. It will be 3 years in November.

Mr. MCTIGUE. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that Dr. Goldstein has a prepared statement. If there are no objections, may I suggest he proceed?

Mr. KERSTEN. We will be very happy to have Rabbi Goldstein proceed with his statement. We are honored and happy to have you with us.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Thank you, gentlemen, for your courtesy.

In addition to the office I hold in the American Jewish Congress, it has been my privilege to serve on other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations for the past 25 years, as a former president of the Synagogue Council of America, and one of the founders of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and other organizations. I have had the opportunity of traveling in various parts of the world, observing the lot and fate of our people in many countries.

I hereby wish to read a statement which I read in the interest of brevity, and I trust, for the convenience of the committee.

The American Jewish Congress welcomes this opportunity to describe the experiences to which the Jewish populations and communities in areas governed by the Soviet Union and its satellite states have been subjected.

We are submitting to this committee a series of studies prepared by the World Jewish Congress and the Institute of Jewish Affairs, the research department which it maintains with the support of the American Jewish Congress. It is not altogether irrelevant to emphasize that this material has been gathered over a period of years by a world organization with which Jewish communities and organizations in more than 60 countries are voluntarily associated and which has endeavored through every available means to ascertain what has been happening to the Jewish people in eastern and central Europe.

These studies include:

(1) Rumanian Jews in the Postwar Period. February 1952.

(2) The Jews of Hungary: A survey of their history and postwar situation. October 1952.

(3) The Jewish Situation in the Soviet Sphere. April 1953.
(4) The Prague Trial. November 1953.
(5) The Soviet Attitude Towards Territorial Minorities and the Jews. December 1953.
(6) Survey of Events in Jewish Life in 1953. April 1954.
(7) The Persecution of Jews in Rumania. June 1954.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Rabbi Goldstein, I notice that you have in the material which you are offering for consideration by the committee, I assume—probably to have in the record if it meets with our approval or at least as an exhibit or with proper reference thereto—the material is entitled "The Soviet Attitude Towards Territorial Minorities and the Jews."

Would you just tell me what you mean by "territorial minorities"?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Minority groups within the Soviet territory. There are some ethnic minorities there. For instance, the Tartars would be considered an ethnic minority. There are many others who constitute the framework of the population in the Soviet.

When I speak of the Jews, I speak of them because, on that subject, of course, we have a special amount of information. The statement later on, I think, will indicate that there is some relationship between the Jewish minority and the other minorities with reference to the treatment obtained from the Soviet regime and in some respects discriminatory to the Jews.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I just want to state that I disagree with you that these ethnic groups, in my opinion, are territorial minorities. In my belief in the Christian sense and in the historic Judical sense, these are nations of non-Russian peoples, such as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Kazahkstan, Turkestan, Uzbeck, Tirgish, Kirgiz, in addition to many other once-free autonomous republics. I just wanted the record to show that I disagree with the term "territorial minorities." This committee hopes to demonstrate that the term "terriorial minorities" is a Russian propaganda term. I have reference to the series of hearings relating to the non-Russian nations enslaved within the U. S. S. R., which we shall conduct shortly hereafter.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Thank you, sir, for your observations.

I shall not attempt to summarize these voluminous studies, but I should like to emphasize the strictly factual character of the evidence and its extensive documentation.

No one can study these materials without coming to the melancholy conclusion that the inevitable result of the present policies pursued by the Soviet government must be the total extinction of any distinctive Jewish life in the Soviet Union. And while Jewish organizations of varying character and purpose, but all of them under strict Communist control, continue to function in the so-called popular democracies, it is equally certain that they must ultimately suffer the fate which has overwhelmed the great movements and organizations which once distinguished Russian Jewry.

Little more than a generation ago, the great Jewish communities in the Czarist Empire, numbering millions of people and living in hundreds of communities which they had inhabited for centuries, was distinguished for its great schools of Jewish learning, for the vigor and brilliance of its intellectual and spiritual life, and for the massive

contribution which it made to human culture and in every field of creative activity.

The graduates of its rabbinical seminaries provided the spiritual leadership of many Jewish communities throughout the world. It gave birth to great movements which spread into many lands, and organizations whose influence continues to be felt in every corner of the globe.

It was from the Jewish towns and villages of the Russian Empire that there came most of the men and women who, in due course, created the State of Israel and provided it with farsighted and dynamic leadership, as well as the scholars, thinkers, poets, and writers who were responsible for a revival of Hebrew culture and the creation of the new Hebrew literature.

It was from these same towns and villages that there came hundreds of thousands of men and women who made a contribution of incalculable magnitude and importance to the development of American Jewry as we know it today, the greatest Jewry in the millenial history of the Jewish dispersion.

That all this was achieved under a regime of ruthless oppression and legal discrimination, marked by periodic outbreaks of government-sponsored massacres which shocked the civilized world, attests to the native vigor and spiritual strength of these Jewish communities. Yet, today, they have ceased to be a factor in the life of humanity and of the Jewish people.

The shadow of doom lies over the 2½ million Jews in Soviet lands. This catastrophic change in the course of a single lifetime is one of the great tragedies of history. To seek to understand the forces which brought it about is the obligation of all men who believe in freedom and the survival of human rights and values. To understand them is to penetrate to the heart of the struggle for the souls of men to which the free world today is dedicated.

When the Bolshevik insurgents in 1917 seized control of the machinery of government in Russia, they proclaimed themselves the protectors of minorities, and especially of those minorities, ethnic and religious, which had been the object of special oppression in the Czarist Empire.

They recognized the existence of a Jewish minority, marked by a distinctive language and culture, and up until the Second World War they implemented this policy by making racial agitation an offense against the law and by giving official status and recognition to the Yiddish language.

There were Yiddish-speaking schools, Yiddish newspapers, a Yiddish publishing house. The use of Yiddish in official transaction in the law courts was sanctioned. But as time went on, it became increasingly apparent that the purpose of this policy was not to preserve and encourage the development of a distinctive Jewish life, but to use the Yiddish language and Yiddish-speaking institutions as a more effective channel of Communist penetration into the Jewish community in Russia.

It is important to observe that the teaching of Hebrew, which is the key to the Bible and the classical literature of Judaism, and served as

a bridge between Russian Jewry and the Jewries of the rest of the world in the common effort to revive Hebrew culture and Jewish life in the Holy Land, was relentlessly suppressed.

Hebrew continued to be the language of prayer in such synagogues as survived, but the prayer books could not be replaced except when permission was obtained to import them. Even the spelling of Hebrew words used in Yiddish was altered and distorted in Communist Yiddish newspapers in a ludicrous effort to remove the Jews as far as possible from the literary sources of their immemorial faith. Not only did the synagogues become steadily fewer in number, not only did the relentless pressure of the regime and its ideology make it increasingly impossible for Jews to remain in the synagogue, but a whole generation, forbidden organized religious instruction, grew up in ignorance of the spiritual tradition and religious practices which give Jewish life its content and meaning.

The war, which gave the Nazis an opportunity of obliterating a large part of Eastern European Jewry resulted also in the Nazi annihilation of countless Jewish communities in the areas which they invaded, and what was not less important, in reviving the latent antisemitism which had been driven underground in the Ukraine and in other areas.

Nevertheless, it seemed for a short time that the common struggle for survival against the Hitler menace would persuade the Russian rulers to relax their grip on Jewish life. An anti-Fascist Jewish committee was established in Moscow. It was encouraged to send emissaries abroad and to establish communication with Jewish communities in a cooperative effort against the Nazis.

The Jews responded gratefully to this relaxation of tension, and for a few years the Jewish world was encouraged to hope that an organized Jewish life might be revived in Russia and might be brought back into a cooperative effort designed to serve the great purposes of Jewish life and human emancipation. It was an illusion which was shared by many people of generous outlook, but it was short-lived.

When, in 1948, the first Israel Minister to Soviet Russia arrived in Moscow, the Jews publicly demonstrated in the synagogues and on the streets leading to it, their joy at the possibility which seemed opened up of a return to the Jewish fold and a renewal of their fellowship with Jewish communities abroad. They did not know, as we know now, that this expression of human solidarity, this manifestation of an invincible loyalty to an immemorial tradition, was a deviation from totalitarianism which could not be tolerated.

The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee which had already become inactive was finally dissolved. Yiddish newspapers ceased publication. Yiddish writers disappeared from public view. The celebrated Jewish Art Theatre of Moscow ceased to function, and the last embers of a distinctive Jewish activity were extinguished.

Sympathy for Zionism not only remained a crime, as it had been for many years, but the accusation of Zionism, directed sometimes against persons who had been bitter opponents of it, became an important weapon in the armory with which the masters of the moment struck down potential rivals or opponents.

The slightest deviation from orthodox Stalinism, or even suspicion of such a deviation, was relentlessly punished. Innocent people were often accused of this crime and held up to public obloquy as an example to others. The notorious false indictment of Jewish doctors, which has since been publicly and officially acknowledged as motivated by a desire on the part of public officials to stir up racial animosity, shocked the world.

Its significance must not be overlooked. It showed that the massive machinery of state control in Russia, in spite of the fair promises of Communist doctrine, could, as a result of an obscure struggle for power within the framework of the state, fall into the hands of people ready to use it for racial persecution.

The Soviet Union voted in 1947 in the United Nations for the resolution on Palestine, which sanctioned the establishment of the state of Israel in a part of that country. Nevertheless, the ban of Zionism was never lifted in Russia, and Zionists, both in Russia and in its associated states, continue to languish in jails and in forced-labor camps.

When the Jews of the Soviet Union were suspected of taking this resolution seriously, the last elements of their distinctive life were obliterated. If the question is asked why Russian action in the UN and Russian policy at home were in such blaring contradiction, the answer is not merely that sheer expediency is a large element in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, though that is true enough. The reason lies deeper.

There is a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between the Jewish conception of life and humanity and that which is embodied in the dogma on which the Government of the Soviet Union professes to be based.

Judaism is based on faith in the divine governance of the universe and on the existence of spiritual principles and a moral law which derive from it. It conceives of man as the creature of God, and of all men as the equal children of the one Divine Father. It is an integral element of this conception that from this divine source man derives rights and obligations which lie beyond the reach of human power. To lay impious hands on these rights and obligations is, in the Jewish conception, an usurpation and a blasphemy.

It follows that no Jew can remain religiously a Jew if he accepts the doctrine that the state or any temporal power can properly invade the divinely given rights of man. That is why, in every age and in every land, autocracy and totalitarianism have sooner or later seen in the Jew an enemy to be destroyed. And even when it offers him security for his body, it demands as a price the death of his soul.

Through all the Jewish centuries, the Jew has been molded by this doctrine of human right and responsibility. The right to knowledge and the free use thereof has been not only a right, but its exercise has always been an obligation. Rabbinic literature is replete with the record of controversies which are conceived of as a means of arriving at the truth; and sacred disputation, in the name of Heaven, to use a rabbinic phrase, is regarded as a religious exercise.

Accordingly, the part that the Jew has played in the development of human thought and activity has been that of a pioneer, as a searcher reaching out to new frontiers, and, if needs be, a nonconformist.

It is scarcely necessary to say more to show why a Communist regime must regard any distinctive Jewish life with suspicion and must seek, sooner or later, to destroy it.

This committee will notice how close the Jewish conception is to the fundamental doctrine of Americanism as defined in the Declaration of Independence, which speaks of man as a creature "who has been endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights."

Mr. KERSTEN. May I interrupt you at that point, Rabbi?

As you were reading previous statements, I had very much in mind how apt and how parallel the principles of Judaism are, in support of the principles of our own form of government and of our Declaration of Independence.

I think you are so right that our form of government is even based upon these divine principles that you have so eloquently referred to here. I just wanted to make that observation.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. I appreciate hearing that statement, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I wish to subscribe, also, to what our chairman has said and on this particular statement, with reference to "unalienable rights," do you not believe that that also means the right to separate from any tyranny, such as the right of the non-Russian nations to separate from the tyranny of the Red colonial Communist conspiracy in Moscow?

In other words, by the same token, the Jews have wanted their national sovereignty—and I am very happy that they have it in Israel—they certainly deserve it—I do think that same concept applies to all other nations who have been subjugated and deprived of their nationalistic independence.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Well, sir, I think the definition of these human rights would certainly come within the framework of what you are saying. It is the right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the right to liberty is perhaps more deeply felt by human beings than almost any other right, and therefore, in all conscience, they would be justified in seeking the safeguard of those rights whenever and wherever they are trampled upon.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Rabbi.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. The Jewish and Biblical conception of man, as created in the image of God, is an integral part of the heritage of the whole free world. That is perhaps why in the vast dominions which are governed or controlled by the Soviet hierarchy, Jews not only suffer the same limitations of freedom as other minorities, but, in at least two respects, are the victims of a special discrimination.

In the first place, the few synagogues that survive mainly for an older generation in the larger cities do not form part of a national union, a privilege not denied to other churches. There is no organized Jewish community in Russia. And while in the so-called people's democracies unions of Jewish communities continue to maintain a restricted activity under strict community scrutiny and control, no one can predict how long they will survive under the increasing pressure of a hostile environment.

Secondly, what is granted to virtually every ethnic minority, the cultivation of a unique language and culture, is now being denied to

the Jews. The Hebrew language, which the old Russian Jewry played an important part in reviving, remains prohibited, as it has been from the beginning, and Yiddish, which not many years ago had its hundreds of thousands of followers, has ceased to be a language in which a single book or pamphlet or paper is printed. Like the tradition which it once enshrined, it, too, is doomed.

And if this is not yet true of Poland and Rumania, an impartial observer cannot fail to ask himself whether these small communities will be able to retain what the infinitely larger and stronger Russian Jewish community has lost.

So long as the Soviet Government continues its present restrictive policies in relation to religion, so long will it fail to persuade freemen that it is sincerely seeking understanding and a policy of coexistence between its own system and a free world based upon the right of free worship.

It will be in vain that it will continue to claim that it conducts no overt persecution of religion. Even if this claim could be accepted, the mere prohibition of classes and schools for religious instruction is a more effective means of preventing the perpetuation of religious communities than conventional persecution. If there is one deduction that the Soviet authorities can properly draw from the unhappy story that we have felt it our duty to put before you, it is that an essential prerequisite for any attempt to rebuild the structure of international relations on a more hopeful basis is the restoration of full religious freedom in the Soviet Union and its associated states.

That is an obligation to which Soviet Russia is committed by its membership in the United Nations. More than that, it is an obligation to which it is committed by every consideration of justice and humanity.

May I submit as part of my testimony this letter from President Dwight D. Eisenhower, dated June 7, 1954, at the White House?

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The following letter was submitted:)

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 7, 1954.

Dr. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN,
President, American Jewish Congress,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. GOLDSTEIN: Thank you for sending me a copy of the resolution adopted by the national administrative committee of the American Jewish Congress protesting the persecution of Jewish leaders in Rumania. I am happy to learn of the meeting on June 9 sponsored by your congress and by other national Jewish organizations. Please extend my warm greetings to all who attend it.

The free world is profoundly aware of the sufferings of Jewish leaders in Rumania—many arrested several years ago, some recently sentenced to long prison terms. Their ordeal is the proper concern of all freemen who strive to create a world of equal justice and equal freedom for all mankind.

The American people have frequently protested violations by the Rumanian Government of the basic human rights and freedoms of the Rumanian people. We are concerned with these violations not only on moral grounds, but on legal grounds as well, for in February 1947 the Rumanian Government signed with this country a treaty of peace wherein it pledged itself among other things "to

secure to all persons under Rumanian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms * * *."

In this most recent wave of persecution, Jewish leaders have been imprisoned not because they have violated any law, but simply because of their religion. The sentence of these leaders of a defenseless minority is a warning to others that in Rumania today no man is free to worship according to his conscience.

The Government of Rumania already stands accused before the tribunal of world opinion for its violation of human rights. By these new acts it has proved again how justly its despotic rule deserves the condemnation of all who love freedom and justice.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Mr. KERSTEN. Congressman Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Rabbi Goldstein, I wish to congratulate you for your very excellent statement.

I noticed in your statement at page 2, the second full paragraph, you talk about the movements and organizations which once distinguished Russian Jewry. You do not mean that Russian Jewry has anything to do with Russian imperialism, do you?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Indeed, not. I had reference to the movement for the strengthening of the Hebrew language which had very deep roots and among the Jews in Russia. I refer to the Zionist movement and the renaissance of Jewish culture, the movements that had to do with the vitalization of the Jewish spiritual heritage.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When I asked that question, I had reference to czarist Russia imperialism which has as its goal world conquest, and Russian Communist, Communist imperialism, which has always as its goal world conquest. I felt no real Jew could have anything to do with imperialism, whether it be czarist imperialism or Russian Communist imperialism.

Further, on page 2, at the bottom, you refer to the great movements which have spread into many lands and organizations whose influence continues to be healthy in every corner of the globe.

I agree with you. It has been a factor for good, moral principle. I just wondered if you would care to name any of those movements?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir. I referred to them a moment ago in connection with the other observation: The revival of the Hebrew language is something which is of importance not only to the Jewish people, but I think to Christian civilization, as well, which stems, after all, from the Bible, which we all hold in common.

There comes to my mind an interesting fact. I think the first president of the Columbia University, who, according to his own diary, taught his own grandson Hebrew because he said, "The Hebrew language should be the endowment of every gentleman."

I have in mind also the reference to the Jewish passion for democracy, which both you and the chairman were good enough to comment on, in connection with American democracy. That brought to mind the statement of the great historian, Lecky, who said that the Jewish spiritual heritage has been the mortar of American democracy.

I think it is worth recalling that particularly at this time when American Jewry is celebrating the 300th anniversary of its settlement in what was once New Amsterdam, now New York. It is that fact

that we feel grateful for, in retrospect, knowing that we were among the pioneers of American democracy.

Mr. FEIGHAN. All of America should certainly feel proud and happy because of the many contributions which the Jews have made to our great United States.

Now, Rabbi, on page 3, you mention that the shadow of doom lies over the 2½ million Jews in Soviet lands. Now, as evil and as bad as the Russian czarist imperialism was, and the manner in which it oppressed and persecuted non-Russian people, do I understand you to mean that the Russian Communist dictatorship spells even greater oppression for the Jews within the U. S. S. R.?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. There is no question about that in my mind, because Jews have demonstrated in their history that even in the face of such phenomena as czarist oppression, they were able to retain their inner spiritual vitality. But, Communist totalitarianism has tried to strike down the soul of the Jew and has made it virtually impossible for Russian Jews to perpetuate their spiritual heritage, to teach it to their children. That is why we are so desperately concerned over the future fate of the 2½ million Jews in the Communist orbit.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Rabbi Goldstein, you said, and I think very correctly so, at the bottom of page 3, when the Bolshevik insurgents in 1917 seized control, they proclaimed themselves the protectors of minorities.

Now, what do you mean by that? Do you mean that recognizes the ethnic nature of the non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. who are entitled to protection as an independent nation, rather than as a part of any federation to which they would unwillingly come under the force of the Soviet Communist conspiracy—that is the subjugated that they are now?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. As I understand, they tried at that time to give the impression that these minorities would be protected in their right to pursue their own cultures. I think the formula was something like this: National, in terms of the minorities, in form; but Socialist in content.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What I mean is this: Speaking of minorities within the Soviet Union, the Russians who were known as the Muscovites, make up less than 40 percent of the population of the total U. S. S. R., so that they themselves, the Muscovites and the Russians are minorities themselves, and I think if we follow the policy of the United States ever since its inception, it provides for separation from any tyranny. And, these nations which had been once independent and free are, in my opinion, entitled to the right of self-determination which has been a policy of the United States.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; I understand.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Rabbi, I notice you mention the way in which the Communists have tried to alter the Yiddish language. I wonder is that related to the Marx policy of linguistics which a Russian technique to subvert languages and make them tools of the Russians?

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. I don't know enough about that technically as an expert, so I can't draw analogies, but I do know that they have used Yiddish in the early stages, as I have indicated here, as a channel for

Communist propaganda and infiltration and whatever remnants of the Hebrew language appear in Yiddish—and Yiddish does contain quite a few Hebrew terms—they try to distort in order to disassociate it completely from the Jewish tradition.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And to try, so far as possible, to Russify the language.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I notice you mentioned the false indictment of the Jewish doctors. I wonder if that is not what led to the liquidation of Stalin because these false indictments of these Jewish doctors left no other course open to that renegade Georgian Beria and Molotov to get together with other members of the international conspiracy, to liquidate Stalin.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. Of course, I have no firsthand evidence to offer, but I find the articles of Mr. Salisbury in the New York Times very enlightening and very revealing in that connection.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I notice on page 7 you state:

> There is a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between the Jewish conception of life and humanity and that which is embodied in the dogma on which the Government of the Soviet Union professes to be based.

I certainly want to congratulate you most heartily for that statement because I think that everybody should be cognizant of the tremendous import the freedom of religion that we all know is certainly unattainable in the Russian empire.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. May I state a rabbinic comment of probably 2,000 years ago that when Moses came to Pharaoh and said, "Let my people go," he also added the following words which don't appear in scripture, "My people must not be slaves to a slave. They must be servants of the one high Master."

That has been our religious principle through the ages. I might say I have had occasion to elaborate on this theme in a book I wrote in 1940, called Toward a Solution. At that time, the relations between Soviet Russia and the United States were not as exacerbated as they are today, and yet I found it necessary to sound that caution 14 years ago.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Again, I want to congratulate you, Rabbi Goldstein, and thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you Rabbi Goldstein. You have made a great contribution to our hearings. That you have enunciated these fundamental principles of humanity and you are subscribing to them, shows the great fidelity and virtual identity of the great truths of Judaism and Christianity.

Dr. GOLDSTEIN. I appreciate very much your words and your courtesy.

Mr. KERSTEN. We will recess at this time, for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 3:40 p. m., a recess was taken, the committee reconvening at 3:55 p. m., the same day.)

Mr. KERSTEN. The hearing will be in order.

You solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DR. SOLOMON M. SCHWARZ

Mr. KERSTEN. We have with us Dr. Solomon Schwarz. We are very happy and honored to have you with us, Doctor.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your full name is Dr. Solomon M. Schwarz; is that right, Doctor?

Dr. SCHWARZ. That is so.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Spelled S-c-h-w-a-r-z?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Where are you living?

Dr. SCHWARZ. 4 West 105th Street, New York.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You were born in 1883, in Vilna, which at that time was a part of Russia?

Dr. SCHWARZ. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. And you studied medicine, law, and economics in Germany?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes, in Germany and Russia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. As I understand it, in 1917 you were appointed chief of the Department of Social Insurance in Ministry of Labor of the Democratic Provisional Government of Russia; is that correct?

Dr. SCHWARZ. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are the author of many works on Soviet Russian problems; is that correct?

Dr. SCHWARZ. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. In 1951, the Syracuse University Press published your book entitled, "Jews in the Soviet Union."

Dr. SCHWARZ. That's right.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is it true that you were a frequent contributor to this subject, that is, Jews in the Soviet Union, and related subjects concerning the Soviet Union, to such magazines and periodicals as Foreign Affairs?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Commentary?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Harvard Business Review?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. The New Leader?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your most recent book is entitled "Labor in the U. S. S. R."

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was that published in 1952?

Dr. SCHWARZ. In 1952, here in New York.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Do you lead the seminar at New York University on the subject of social and economic problems in the Soviet Union?

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is true.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You also lecture on Soviet labor policies at Columbia University.

Dr. SCHWARZ. In the Russian Institute of the Columbia University.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your lectures concern the labor policies in the Soviet Union; is that correct?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes; it is so.

Mr. McTIGUE. Doctor, were the Jews well represented in the Communist Party at the time of the Bolshevik revolution?

Dr. SCHWARZ. At that time, there were some Jews among the leading Bolsheviks; Jews who were completely Russified and without any intimate ties with Russian Jewry. But the Bolshevik Party had no contact at all either with the Jewish masses or with the Jewish intelligentsia. When, at the beginnig of 1918, the party decided to publish some Bolshevik pamphlets in Yiddish, it was impossible to find a translator. One of the leading Jewish Bolsheviks a few years later wrote in a semiofficial history of those developments:

> We were forced to look for Jewish writers willing to do the job (of translating)—and for a substantial fee. But no financial inducements succeeded in producing a Jewish writer willing to translate Bolshevik literature.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Soviet Government at any time succeed in winning to its side the sympathies of the Jewish people in Russia?

Dr. SCHWARZ. During the civil war, the Soviet Government actually won, for a certain period of time, the sympathies of a great part of the Russian Jews. This occurred when, and because, militant anti-Semitism became an important part of the political propaganda of the counterrevolutionary forces, and Jewish pogroms became their practice, and the Soviet Government, in fighting these counterrevolutionary forces, found it expedient to adopt a policy at that time of sharply opposing anti-Semitism.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was anti-Semitism, as a result, wiped out in the Soviet Union?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Anti-Semitism actually almost disappeared in the first years after the end of the civil war. But it reappeared once more in the second half of the twenties, not as a heritage of the past but as a new phenomenon of purely Soviet origin. Permit me to submit here a prepared statement in which I deal with this and related questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Please do so.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Of all the issues arising out of the complex reality of the Soviet Union, the Jewish question, and especially the question of anti-Semitism, was for years among the most controversial. On the one hand, it was often maintained that the Soviet Union was the only country in which the true equality of all national groups had been established, the national rights of the Jewish minority were widely protected and anti-Semitism was completely uprooted. At the opposite pole, it was claimed that the Soviet Union inherited, developed, and far outdistanced even the notorious official anti-Semitism of the czarist times.

In recent years this controversy subsided somewhat. Even the American Communists began to doubt the guaranties of the national rights of Russian Jews, and even people who mistrust the simplified pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet formulas became aware of the highly disquieting development of the Jewish problem in the U. S. S. R.

The Jewish problem, as it emerged in Russia in the early years of the revolution, is of considerable interest, reaching far beyond the framework of the question of the fate of the Jews. For the first time in contemporary history, the problem of securing the free development of a minority nationality, dispersed over a considerable terri-

tory and nowhere constituting a compact majority, had to be solved by the abolition of restrictions on the rights of citizens because of their nationality. These restrictions were abolished in Russia in the spring of 1917, long before the Bolsheviks took power.

But, then, another broader problem appeared in its full scope; how to secure the rights not only of individual citizens, but of a nationality as a collective; how to secure the right to national cultural autonomy.

During the short life of the democratic government, the idea of national cultural autonomy was accepted in Russia by almost all political groupings, except the reactionaries on the right and the Bolsheviks on the left.

For historical reasons, this problem is alien to public opinion of the United States. In this country national consolidation required the fusing of immigrant European national groups into a new nation. And though in many parts of the American population the need for conserving elements of national cultures brought from Europe and for furthering cultural ties with the countries of origin remains alive, this need is met through numberless private associations enjoying the widest freedom.

In Europe, and especially in eastern and southeastern Europe, these problems have another meaning, and the task of guaranteeing by public law the rights of national ethnic groups—nationalities—in the frame work of the state—in the framework of the nation—has for decades been a subject of contention.

The problem of national cultural autonomy as it arose in Russia at the beginning of the revolution was by no means a question of exclusive Jewish interest. All the important nationalities in Russia include segments which constitute only a minority of the population in some parts of the country; they are all interested in securing the right to national cultural autonomy for such minorities. But the Jews, who are a minority everywhere, were in fact the initiators and main fighters for this idea.

Whether it is possible to guarantee permanently the preservation and national cultural flourishing of such a minority nationality as the Jews after all legal restrictions had been removed, or whether they are doomed to cultural assimilation to the surrounding majority, is a question to which one cannot give an a priori answer. The short-lived experience of the independent Ukraine in 1917–18 does not solve this question, and it is difficult to arrive at definite conclusions from the longer but still limited experience of Lithuania and Latvia. In Russia the conditions for the organization of Jews on a basis of national cultural autonomy appeared especially favorable. There was a concentration of several million Jews, constituting culturally and nationally the most active part of world Jewry. Since the end of the last century there has been a notable tendency to develop a secular Jewish culture and to combine national cultural traditions with the cultural achievements of advanced European countries. The democratic revolution caused a general upsurge of public activity everywhere in the country which expressed itself very strongly also in the Jewish milieu. Finally, there was a strengthening of national and at the same time democratic tendencies in all important nationalities in Russia. All these appeared to favor a rapid national development of Russian Jewry.

Whether this evolution would last permanently or whether it would end after a few decades in an assimilation of the Jews by the surrounding majority—or majorities—one can only guess.

There are serious arguments in favor of an affirmative answer to the question about the possibility of a lasting national consolidation of Russian Jewry in the framework of national cultural autonomy if it had been introduced in the first years of the revolution.

But even if all that had not been achieved and the evolution had, nevertheless, ended in assimilation, this assimilation would have been a real assimilation, for example, a two-sided process, where not only the minority is ready to dissolve in the majority but also the numerically stronger nationality ceases to consider the assimilated as alien elements.

Where this does not take place, where only the minority loses its national individuality, there is no two-sided process of assimilation, but rather, to put it strongly, a one-sided process of denationalization which creates tensions between the nationalities and a feeling of inferiority among the members of the minority. Such a development is a tragedy for the minority, but also highly unfortunate for the majority.

Bolshevism, in which deep antidemocratic, centralistic traditions prevailed from the very beginning, was hostile to all forms of national autonomy.

In the case of the Jews there was an additional reason: The negation of the very idea that Jews were a nationality and the insistence on the need for their rapid and full assimilation.

This conception, formulated long before the revolution, was somewhat softened in its verbal formulations after the Bolsheviks took power. In an attempt to win the Jewish masses and to break the influence of Democratic Socialist, National Autonomist, and pro-Palestine groups and parties, whose ideas prevailed among the Jews at the beginning of the revolution, the Communist Party made several attempts to elaborate a specific Jewish policy during the twenties, and encouraged Jewish schools, theaters, press, and so forth, and even beginnings of local national autonomy—local Jewish Soviets, Jewish national districts, Jewish courts.

For the Communist Party the main purpose was always the political conquest of the Jews. But among the Jews—especially among the recently converted Jewish Communists—this policy nourished national hopes, which were strongly revived after the introduction of a project of a Jewish settlement in Birobidjan.

But at the same time hundreds of thousands of Jews moved from the districts of their artificial concentration—the former Jewish pale—to new areas all over the country. This dispersal of great masses of Jews inevitably strengthened the process of their denationalization. Had national cultural autonomy been introduced, had the Jewish group been institutionalized as a national entity, this denationalization would no doubt have proceeded more slowly and would perhaps have bypassed great parts of the dispersed Jewish population.

But in the absence of any Jewish national cultural autonomy and in the almost complete absence of any organs providing cultural ties

between the Jews in different parts of Russia, the process of denationalization of Soviet Jewry inevitably proceeded very rapidly.

In the middle of the thirties the liquidation of Jewry as a national collective became the main purpose of Soviet policies in this field. Never specifically formulated, this idea was followed persistently in the practice not only in the districts of Jewish dispersal but also in regions where great masses of Jews were concentrated.

In the midthirties the impact of this destructive policy was somewhat softened by the fears aroused in Soviet Government circles by the consolidation of Hitler's rule in Germany. These fears forced the Soviet Government to seek support in the west. When the new Soviet constitution was discussed at the Soviet congress in November 1936 these fears resulted in an unexpectedly strong pro-Jewish declaration.

But, the great purge soon removed these vacillations; the reorientation of the Soviet Government toward a rapprochement with Hitler's Germany, already clandestinely prepared at that time, no doubt also had some influence on this turn.

At the end of the thirties, the negative attitude toward the Jewish question achieved a complete victory in the ruling Soviet circles. It was not softened even during the war.

The complicated problem of the anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union deserves special attention.

Only a few years ago, the view was quite widespread outside the Soviet Union that after the civil war anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia had rapidly subsided, only occasionally reappearing in insignificant episodes and merely reflecting the heritage of the past.

These notions more or less correctly portrayed Soviet reality as it had crystallized during the first half of the 1920's. But they did not at all correspond with the situation as it later developed. From the mid-1920's on a new wave of anti-Semitism swept the Soviet Union. It attracted the attention of the Soviet press and gave birth to a large body of anti-Semitic literature.

Contrary to official pronouncements, the new wave of anti-Semitism did not represent a relapse into traditional prerevolutionary anti-Semitism. It was not a remnant of the past revived in the cities by nonsovietized newcomers from the backward countryside. The source of the new anti-Semitic wave was to be found among the dispossessed, declassed, and proletarianized elements of the urban middle class.

This urban origin explains its impact on the upper strata of industrial workers and on university students, both almost completely immune to anti-Semitism in prerevolutionary Russia. Anti-Jewish stereotypes were drawn from a simplified critique of the social stratification and social hierarchy in the period of the so-called New Economic Policy (NEP)—when "the Jew" appeared to the anti-Semitic mind as the "NEP profiteer."

This anti-Semitism was inherently inimical to the Communist dictatorship and its official ideology, even though its influence spread among significant numbers of Communist youth and frequently to members of the Communist Party.

But the party leadership then was cognizant of the reactionary nature of this anti-Semitism and the Communist Party as a whole censured it, though the campaign against it did not display the energy of great conviction.

On the threshold of the 1930's the NEP was swept away in the torrent of large-scale industrialization. Economic and social conditions were radically transformed. Labor demand increased enormously, unemployment disappeared, a new social hierarchy arose. The anti-Semitic pattern of the late 1920's became meaningless. By the middle of the thirties anti-Semitism as a mass phenomenon had markedly receded.

In the later 1930's, however, the curve of anti-Semitism again began to mount. The anti-Semitism originating at this time was a new Soviet phenomenon, new in its social basis and new in its manifestations. Anti-Semitic feeling gradually infiltrated the upper layer of the soviet bureaucracy; it was a kind of anti-Semitism that avoided overt display and manifested itself mainly in the gradual elimination of Jews from conspicuous and important positions in all spheres of Soviet life. The great purge of 1936–38 struck with particular severity at internationalist tendencies in the Communist Party and in this guise not only physically annihilated most Jewish Communists of any importance, but also markedly strengthened the new anti-Semitic trend. By the eve of the Second World War, it had found a wide response in Soviet society.

Thus the groundwork was laid for the upsurge of anti-Semitism during the war, when overt anti-Semitism largely supplanted the creeping and disguised variety. The success of Nazi propaganda in the Soviet Union was facilitated by prewar developments. During the war anti-Semitism became popular.

Postwar trends were of a mixed nature. In the Ukraine, where during the war anti-Semitism had made greater headway than elsewhere in the Soviet Union, and where it had become the popular expression of anti-Soviet sentiments, the Government battled it through the Communist Party machine, without publicity, but with some results. Outside the Ukraine, the Government took little interest in combating the evil. Here, too, however, the active and popular anti-Semitism of wartime seemed to be on the wane; but at the same time the consolidation and growth of the new stealthy anti-Semitism of the Soviet bureaucracy, which had come to the fore in the late 1930's was more significant.

At first it was covert. Even before the war, the Government had begun gradually to squeeze Jews out of several ministries—foreign affairs, foreign trade—and to exclude or limit their access to several schools of higher learning.

In the war years and after, these practices increased, but all restrictions continued to be applied secretly, as before. Toward the end of 1948 the policy had already gone far beyond the exclusion of Jews from influential positions and from a few higher educational institutions and had acquired a more far-reaching character—the destruction of all aspects of Jewish cultural life. Jewish schools, Jewish newspapers, Jewish publishing houses, all disappeared at the end of 1948. From the beginning of 1949 anti-Semitism began to appear openly—in the campaign against Jewish literary and drama critics, in accusations of cosmopolitanism, in attacks on Jews as enemies of everything Russian, and so forth.

As the campaign progressed it aroused attention abroad, and democratic world public opinion became aware that anti-Semitism was striking deep roots in the Soviet Union, that the Communist Party in the Soviet Union not only had ceased to fight anti-Semitism, but was encouraging it, and had, in fact, become an active agent in the growth of anti-Semitism.

Meanwhile, signs of anti-Semitism began to appear more and more clearly also in the so-called Peoples' Democracies. Here the Communist parties have shown from the very beginning a tendency to tolerate, even to encourage widespread and undisguised anti-Semitism.

In the Soviet Union the counterrevolution had so firmly identified itself with anti-Semitism during the years of civil war—and the extremist Ukrainian separatist movement had used anti-Semitic arguments so extensively in its struggle against the Communist Party—that this alone compelled the Soviet Government and Communist Party to remain for many years in the front against anti-Semitism.

The Peoples' Democracies had no such experience. Here was neither organized reactionary forces fighting the new power under the banner of anti-Semitism, nor separatist movements tainted with anti-Semitism.

Opposition to the Communist parties was carried on not by counterrevolutionary or reactionary forces, but mainly by democratic parties which strove to preserve democratic systems against pressure from the Soviet Union, and Communist Party attempts to thrust Communist dictatorships upon their countries. For this reason the caution with regard to anti-Semitism, which had a specific historical origin in the Soviet Union, did not exst in the Peoples' Democracies.

On the other hand, special conditions favorable to the development of anti-Semitism had arisen in the Peoples' Democracies. In all these countries Jews had played an important role in economic life, and during the Hitler regime they had been deprived of their possessions. That Jews had earlier owned numerous large-scale industrial and trading enterprises was now irrelevant: These businesses had been nationalized along with other large firms and there was no question of their restitution. But during the Hitler regime a very great number of handicraft shops, petty trading concerns and small industrial and agricultural enterprises, not to mention the great number of homes—with all their furnishings—which had belonged to Jews—fell into non-Jewish hands.

After the defeat of Germany all these countries enacted laws for the restitution of Jewish property, and it was just at this point that the tragedy began. The restitution laws injured the interests of a sizable number of new owners. Many of them had already been contaminated with anti-Semitism, through which they found some justification for the questionable transfer to their hands of Jewish possessions. In others anti-Semitism was dormant until they clashed with the problem of restitution.

When Jews who had survived Hitler began to claim their property in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, anti-Semitism very quickly became widespread among the new owners. The Communist parties lacked the courage or the desire to fight this trend. The laws on the restitution of Jewish property did not get beyond the paper stage.

This was a focus for the poison of anti-Semitism in the Peoples' Democracies. Ever more frequently anti-Semitic overtones crept into official speeches and pronouncements. The Slansky trial in November 1952, and the campaign launched with the trial indicate something far more significant than a readiness of official circles to make peace with, or even cautiously to play on, anti-Semitic sentiments.

The anti-Semitic character of the Slansky trial is sufficiently known. I would like to stress here only two points:

Among the crimes Slansky was forced to confess was his fight against anti-Semitism. In 1948, Czechoslovakia half-heartedly supported the newly created State of Israel in selling her weapons quasi-secretly. Zionist organizations openly existed in Czechoslovakia at that time.

I deliberately shielded them—

confessed Slansky—

by preventing the campaign against so-called anti-Semitism—by proposing that a big campaign be waged against anti-Semitism, by magnifying the danger of anti-Semitism, and by proposing various measures against anti-Semitism—such as the writing of articles, the publication of pamphlets, the holding of lectures, and so forth.

And even more energetically:

I deliberately shielded Zionism by publicly speaking out against the people who pointed to the hostile activities of Zionists and by describing these people as anti-Semites—so that these people were in the end prosecuted and persecuted and sometimes even excluded from the party, as happened to certain members of the Central Secretariat.

Here, for the first time in Communist practice, not anti-Semitism, but fighting anti-Semitism was declared to be detestable and criminal.

The second characteristic event in the Slansky trial was the rebirth of the legend of the Elders of Zion, in somehow modernized form, of course. This legend, born in the Czarist Ochrana in the 1890's as a myth of a Jewish conspiracy to rule the world, played a great role in the development of antisemitism in Europe before and after the rise of Hitler. It seemed to die with Hitler, but unexpectedly was revitalized in the Slansky trial as a myth of the Elders of Zionism. They are—Ben-Gurion, Moshe Sharet, and Morgenthau, but also Truman and Acheson. One of the witnesses at the trial "disclosed" their secret meeting in Washington in 1947 in which a program was accepted for the destruction of world communism and the installation of the Americo-Jewish rule all over the world. To fulfill this program the American Joint creates everywhere its agencies; Slansky and his codefendants were among such Joint agents.

In the Soviet Union such a turning appeared yet premature: Preparatory propaganda was yet necessary. The Slansky trial was soft-pedalled in the Soviet Union, but at the same time the Soviet press developed a more cautious but intensive antisemitic propaganda by reporting all kinds of crimes committed by people with ostensibly Jewish names. As criminal reporting is very limited in the Soviet Union, and only a highly insignificant number of cases are reported, it was no problem to select the necessary cases to publicize the criminal character of the Jews.

After several weeks of such preparatory propaganda the great bomb exploded. On January 13, 1953, Tass—the official Soviet telegraphic agency—announced the "discovery" of "a terrorist group of doctors who aimed to shorten the lives of active leaders of the Soviet Union by harmful treatment."

Nine prominent Moscow physicians—six of them Jews—were named as working on orders of "the international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization Joint, created by American intelligence." Two members of the Politburo of the Communist Party were alleged to have been killed and attempts prepared on the lives of many prominent Soviet civil and military leaders. The bacchanalia of anti-Semitic propaganda in the Soviet press that was unleashed by this Tass announcement was indescribable.

Until recently nobody would have thought that it was possible in the Soviet Union. The satirical weekly magazine Crocodile, in its January 30 editorial, exceeded all antisemitic records:

> The sacred ire of the Soviet people and merciless punishment will be brought down on the heads of the band of physicians-poisoners. • • • The hate against our great country has united in one camp the American and British bankers, the owners of colonies, the merchants of death, the beaten Hitlerite generals dreaming of revenge, the representative of the Vatican, the adepts of Zion's kahal.

the mysterious Zion's kahal could not be understood otherwise than the revived Elders of Zion.

Stalin's death introduced an unexpected halt in these developments. The March editions of the Soviet press scarcely mentioned the "doctor-murderers" or "reactionary Zionism." The relative calm that descended on the front of Soviet antisemitic appeared to be due to the fact that at this time the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. was too preoccupied with other matters to spare time for the Jews and their imaginary conspiracy. Soon it became clear, however, that there were other reasons behind this silence. It became apparent that the "doctors' case" came up as part of the struggle for power at the summit of Communist bureaucracy. After Stalin's death this struggle entered a new phase, and the "doctors' case" ended in a dramatic fashion.

On April 4, 1953, the Moscow papers published an official announcement unprecedented in the history of the Soviet Union. The announcement read:

> The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the U. S. S. R. has conducted a careful investigation of all the materials of the preliminary interrogation and other materials in connection with the case of the group of doctors accused of sabotage, espionage, and terroristic actions toward active personages of the Soviet Government.

As a result of this investigation it has been "established":

1. That all concerned in the case "had been irregularly arrested without any legal basis";
2. That the accusations levelled against them "are false, and the documentary material on which the prosecution based itself is inconsistent";
3. That "the statements of the prisoners, seemingly confirming the accusations leveled against them, were obtained by the officials of the investigative section of the former Ministry of State Security by intolerable means that are strictly forbidden by Soviet law."

Conclusion: "All those involved in this case are fully rehabilitated" and "released from imprisonment," while "the persons guilty of incorrect conduct of the investigation are to be arrested and held personally responsible."

This is not the appropriate occasion to analyze the internal struggle within the Communist Party which led to the unexpected conclusion of the doctors' case. But, one admission in an editorial in Pravda of April 6, 1953, which comments on the announcement regarding liquidation of the case, merits attention. The editorial reads:

> The reprehensible adventurers of the type of Riumin [former substitute for the Minister of State Security, who conducted the doctors' case] tried to fan within Soviet society feelings of national animosity that are profoundly alien to Socialist ideology, by means of their trumped up case. In their provocational aims they did not stop at pure slander on Soviet people. * * *

"Tried to fan feelings of national animosity". Against whom? Against which nationality? Against the Jews, of course, though Pravda does not mention the Jews as such, in an attempt to hide behind a general formula concerning fanning national hatreds. The following day Pravda again remarked in an editorial that "the reprehensible adventurers of Riumin's type * * * sought to fan feelings of national hatred * * *" without mentioning who the objects of this hatred were.

Does this imply that the Communist Party is now determined to fight antisemitism, or at least to refrain from encouraging it? Regrettably, we have no grounds for such a conclusion.

Against such a conclusion speaks the fact that the quoted articles of Pravda of April 6 and 7 attacked only the incitement to national enmity in general but did not refer to antisemitism, though such specific reference should seem to have been necessary in the case of the doctors, which had so obviously incited to anti-Jewish hatred.

In the weeks following April 4, 1953, many articles in the Soviet press stressed the inalienable rights of Soviet citizens and the inadmissability of propaganda of national hatred, but not in a single one of these articles did I find any statement that anti-Semitism as such was impermissible.

It becomes still more difficult to reach optimistic conclusions in this regard, when one considers that the dramatic conclusions of the doctor's case exerted no effect on the situation in the satellites, especially on Czechoslovakia, where the Slansky case with all its antisemitic details continued to serve as inspiration for Communist propagandists and journalists. Even more disturbing was the fact that the Soviet Government made no attempt to dissociate itself from the antisemitic propaganda conducted by a number of Arab broadcasting stations which became especially violent after the doctors' case began in Moscow in January 1953.

A number of striking examples of this propaganda were cited by the Israeli representative in the U. N., Mr. Abba Eban, at a meeting of the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the U. N. on April 16. On January 29, the Syrian Government radio in Damascus, while discussing the Russian revolution, expressed the thought that, "to murder the Czar, his entire family and several millions of Russians should have been sufficient to mark the Jews as criminals." On Janu-

ary 20, the official broadcasting station at Baghdad characterized the Jewish people as, "a snake which others fed and rescued until it lifts its head to bite them." On March 8, the Damascus radio made the sensational announcement that, "It was confidentially understood that the cause of Marshal Stalin's high blood pressure was due to an unidentified injection given to him by the arrested Zionist doctor before the criminal Zionist doctor's crime was discovered."

Even after the retraction of the accusations against the Moscow doctors, when, in mid-April 1953, the representatives of the Arab States sharply attacked Israel in the United Nations and their anti-Zionist speeches revealed strong hatred against the Jews in general, they received friendly and demonstrative support from the delegates of the Soviet Union and of the satellite countries.

More than a year has passed since that time, but the situation has not changed basically.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest, as we have in the past—in London, for example—we have incorporated by reference certain books and documents. May I suggest that we note here the incorporation by reference of Dr. Schwarz' book, Jews in the Soviet Union.

Apparently there is a lot of detail in connection with the answers—not only with this answer but probably with some of the other answers that Dr. Schwarz would give. Rather than have it read here, it seems to me that we can still secure the knowledge in the book for the committee record and for our subsequent reports if we note it in the report and incorporate this book, Jews in the Soviet Union, by reference.

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, it will be so incorporated by reference.

(The book, Jews in the Soviet Union, was accepted and is in possession of the committee.)

Mr. KERSTEN. Doctor, I request that if there are additional facts that you would like to call to our committee's attention—any more detailed facts that you may wish to submit, we would be happy to accept any supplemental statement or paper.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Thank you. I would be glad to do it, particularly with reference to the important question of Biro-Bidjan.

Mr. KERSTEN. If you will submit a supplemental statement we will be glad to make it a part of the record.

(The supplemental statement was duly submitted and follows herewith.)

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT OF DR. SOLOMON M. SCHWARZ

In the summer of 1927 a mission was sent by the Soviet Government to reconnoiter the area of Biro-Bidjan for the possible resettlement of the destitute Jewish city dwellers. In 6 weeks time the mission completed the task of exploring an area larger than the combined area of Massachusetts and Connecticut, consisting almost entirely of virgin forests and swamps, without roads, and almost unhabited. And on March 28, 1928, the government decided to set aside this area for Jewish colonisation.

The decision on Jewish colonisation of this remote and strategically important frontier area was decisively influenced by political considerations not connected with the Jewish question. An official spokesman explained it in 1928: "In about 10 to 15 years a dense mass of Chinese will have moved close to the Amur and Sungari Rivers; that is, to the frontier. The Manchurian population will then have reached about 30 million. Hence the question is whether it will be

possible to populate the Amur area of Biro-Bidjan within the coming 10 to 15 years. If it is populated in time, the immigration of Chinese farmers will have been made impossible."

The mission which went to Biro-Bidjan recommended that preparatory work to receive the projected immigration into Biro-Bidjan be started immediately so that actual colonization could be started, at least on a small scale, a year later, and increasing in later years. But the first groups of colonists were already being sent in April 1928—immediately after the decision of March 28—and the results of the first years were catastrophic.

It was planned to settle 60,000 Jews in Biro-Bidjan up to the end of the first 5-year-plan period, i. e. by October 1, 1933. Actually, in the 6 years from 1928 to 1933, 19,635 Jews were sent to Biro-Bidjan, but 11,450 left, and only 8,185 remained there. It was then planned once more to bring the Jewish population of Biro-Bidjan up to 60,000 by the end of the second 5-year-plan period, i. e. by the end of 1937. Actually, the number of Jews there at that time rose up to 20,000.

In the meantime, the non-Jewish population of Biro-Bidjan was growing, mainly through spontaneous colonisation; and the Jews remained a minority in the area, hardly ever going higher than 20 to 25 percent. This situation had undergone no change by the beginning of the war, when Jewish colonization of this area was stopped altogether. During the war the Jewish population of Biro-Bidjan even diminished, but rose once more when, in the midst of 1946, colonization was resumed. At the end of 1948 Jewish colonization was stopped for the second time. Since then no changes have occurred. The Jewish population of Biro-Bidjan today is, at most, thirty-five to forty thousand; less than a quarter of the whole population of the area. (For references, see my book, The Jews in the Soviet Union.)

The main causes of the complete failure of the Biro-Bidjan project as a plan for Jewish colonization are:

1. The Biro-Bidjan area was highly inappropriate for mass Jewish colonization, and was selected not so much in the interests of the Jewish colonists but to help fill out the "vacuum" on the endangered frontier.

2. But despite this, the success of Jewish colonization in this area might have been much greater if the Soviet Government had permitted the project to be organized as a great Jewish national work. But no Jewish body was created to organize the preparatory work, and to guide and organize the colonization itself. Nothing was done—and nothing was permitted to be done—to make Biro-Bidjan an important center of Jewish national life. And when, in recent years, the need for strengthening this frontier area lost its importance the Biro-Bidjan project was forgotten altogether.

Mr. KERSTEN. Exhibits 5, 6, and 7—in fact all marked exhibits up to and including 7, may be made a part of the record as exhibits for consideration for final acceptance.

Mr. MCTIGUE. They are all identified with the September hearings.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think you better mark these also, Mr. Reporter, following 7.

We will accept exhibits 8 to 20, inclusive, as New York September exhibits, introduced as exhibits, for consideration, to be finally accepted on the same basis as the previous ones.

Mr. KERSTEN. Dr. Schwarz, we thank you for your appearance here this afternoon, for making a very valuable contribution. We congratulate you on your work, on the book to which you have referred and other publications, and we feel privileged that you appeared before us.

Thank you.

The hearings will now adjourn until further notice.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p. m., the committee adjourned, until further notice.)